Fulham Public Libraries.

CENTRAL LENDING DEPARTMENT.

HOURS: Open from 10.30 a.m. till 8.30 p.m. on week-days (Wednesday from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m.) Closed on Sundays and public holidays.

This book may be retained for **FIFTEEN DAYS** (inclusive of days of issue and return); if it be detained beyond that period the borrower will be charged ONE PENNY for the first week or portion of a week, ONE PENNY for the second week or portion of a week, and thereafter **ONE PENNY PER DAY** until the book be returned.

Borrowers must protect the books lent to them from any form of injury, or they will be required to pay a sum sufficient to repair or replace the book damaged.

Change of Address must be notified to the Librarian, in writing at the earliest opportunity.

It is expected that borrowers will themselves change their books. Messengers will only have ... entrusted to them at the discretion of the ...an.

2.
9
Vol. 2

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

oks or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on
d in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal
l unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone
rvice (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the
ove branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday
d all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays
d Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

II

THE PEOPLE IN ADVENTURE

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

By Stanley Leathes, C.B., M.A.

I THE PEOPLE IN THE MAKING
(To the Introduction of Printing)

II THE PEOPLE IN ADVENTURE
(To the French Revolution)

III THE PEOPLE ON ITS TRIAL
(*In Preparation*)

The last volume will bring the story down to the present day

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN

FULHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Queen Elizabeth.

942·0

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

THE PEOPLE IN ADVENTURE

BY

STANLEY LEATHES, C.B., M.A.

Formerly Lecturer in History at Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of "What is Education" and one of the Editors of "The Cambridge Modern History"

TRANSFERRED TO

Metropolitan Special Collections

LEWISHAM.

1920

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN

500.17

Auth. Cata. J.M.H. | Label Dpts.
Sh. Reg. J.M.H. | Check

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN.

FULHAM

PREFACE

My first volume was written before the war; the second was written under its shadow. As the struggle became more intense this people has been slowly revealed to itself, in its weakness and in its strength. We do not know if that weakness may be fatal, if that strength is sufficient. We stand on the verge of a fuller enlightenment. Before my generation has passed away we shall know whether this people has proved worthy of its heritage, worthy of its enormous duties and responsibilities.

In my first volume we saw the English people attain its unity through strife. We saw it disciplined by conquest and by feudal rule. We saw it work out its own government in counties and hundreds, in manors and boroughs, in guilds and juries and courts of law. We saw it impose rules upon its governors. We saw it express its nature in castles and mansions, in cathedrals and monasteries, in the town and in the country-side. We saw the formation of its language and its first delight in the magic of words. We watched the people in its making with an easy mind, because we knew that prosperous centuries were before it.

In this volume we survey a different spectacle. The people outgrows its old schoolmaster—the Church; it turns to the masters of Greece and Rome. It studies the Bible with awful questioning. It enters on a long conflict with its Kings, concerning religion and lawful right. It becomes

vaguely conscious of its own existence and its own desires; slowly and blindly it feels its way towards power and understanding. These islands, this Europe, become too narrow for it. Adventurous men risk their lives and their fortunes on the universal sea, on the Spanish Main, in North America, and in India. The knowledge, the sympathy, the wealth of the people, are behind these men; they are working for themselves, but they are also working for England; the people profits by their enterprise but very slowly assumes the rights and responsibilities of control. The people is not committed deeply to any one of these ventures; without serious embarrassment it can endure a heavy loss, as in North America; but the total of gains, great and small, is ever mounting. The world-empire grows up by a common effort, as the fruit of a common aspiration, but in obedience to no settled plan. The tendency of our wars was very different from their conscious motives. Men talked of trade, of traditional enmity, of balance of power; they were fulfilling the destiny of the English people; maybe they were the instruments of its hidden will.

When this volume ends a great struggle is impending for the maintenance of that world-power, even for the maintenance of our own liberty. We know the issue of that struggle; but to our ancestors it was from first to last uncertain, as is to us the fortune of tomorrow.

Now that this people is being tried by a greater task, though not as yet by greater sufferings, than in the days of Nelson and Wellington, its history assumes a more profound significance. In such a peace as we have enjoyed for a hundred years, our class struggles, our party strife, our money-getting, our own trifling lives and fortunes, have shut out the horizon. We have now to act as a nation, to will as a nation, to work as a nation, to suffer as a nation, to

conquer as a nation, or if not, to undergo, as a nation and as individuals, the uttermost penalty. If we are to be successful in this war we shall be successful because the old national spirit is not dead within us, because the blood of the men that made England free and glorious still moves in their posterity—for our daily life has not been apt to teach us what we need to know and feel in this greatest of all our trials. We have forgotten the real existence of England; through history alone can the knowledge of England be maintained in time of peace.

The knowledge of England is needed by Englishmen as much in peace as in war. England belongs to us, and therefore we belong to England—we are bound to give freely at her need all that we are and all that we possess. Our freedom, our knowledge, our virtues, are the bequests to us of the English people—they were built up by our forefathers in sweat and blood and tears. Even our temporal revenues and possessions—our wages and all that our wages can buy—come to us from the English people. If it needs a war to remind us that we are a nation and not a mere crowd of pushing and scrambling individuals, history is needed to keep alive the lessons of the war. The national spirit has revived, though while I write it is not yet fully awake—it is the business of history and historians and all teachers to keep it strong and steady. For until it can in peace give direction and unity to our efforts we shall not be worthy to enjoy the blessings of peace.

History is the one great means of educating the nation as a nation to work together for national ends. History, rightly presented, is the proper school of civics and of citizenship. For good or evil we have become a self-governing community—self-government is not a good thing in itself, but according to the results that it produces. Every individual has his share in moulding public feeling

and directing common effort. For that he needs all the wisdom he can by any means attain, and the foundations of wisdom may be laid in schools and homes. The beginning of wisdom for the citizen is to feel himself in the nation, and the nation in himself. In our ordinary life we can but with difficulty see beyond the individuals, the classes, the interests; in history alone does the nation stand clearly revealed as a whole, a whole that secures all such well-being as individuals, classes, and interests, can hope for, a whole that is far above any individual, interest, or class.

THE TEMPLE, STANLEY LEATHES.
October, 1915.

The list of general works of reference is the same as for the first volume.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN TUDOR TIMES

CHAPTER I

The New Monarchy

1. The value of history. 2. What is the people of England? 4. Influence of Kings upon the people in the past. 5. Influence of the people on the Kings. 6. The new monarchy of the Tudors. 8. The King and the Church. 9. The King and the Nobles. The country gentlemen. 10. Justices of the Peace. The trading classes. 11. The educated classes. 12. The Parliament and the King. The use made by the Tudor Kings of their power.

CHAPTER II

The Reformation

1529-1603

16. The Popes of the fifteenth century. 17. The break-up of the Western Church. 18. Luther and indulgences. 19. The appeal to the Bible. Sacraments and ceremonies. 20. Religious vows. 21. Confession. Church property. Freedom of belief. 22. Sects. Reformation in Germany, in France, 23, in other countries. The Reformation: under Henry VIII—25, under Edward VI: under Mary. 26. Elizabeth's choice of a religion. 28. One Church in England. 29. The thirty-nine Articles. 30. Rivalry with Spain. 32. The Catholic religion and our Spanish enemies. 33. The Puritans challenge Elizabeth's authority over religion.

CHAPTER III

The Seamen of England

35. Which was the best time to live in? 36. The building up of geography. 38. The share of the English in discovery. 39. Search for a passage to the Far East; by the Cape of Good Hope; by the South-West; 40, by the North-East; by the North-West. 41. Trade and war with the Spaniards. 42. Drake's voyage in the *Golden Hind*.

44. Open war with Spain. 45. Results of Elizabeth's time. 46. Trade. 48. The coinage. 50. Henry VIII debases the coinage. Re-coinage of Elizabeth. 52. Fall in the value of silver. The Statute of Apprentices. 54. New towns.

CHAPTER IV

THE COUNTRY IN TUDOR TIMES

1485-1603

55. Increasing rapidity of change. 56. The unchanging country and its changes. 60. The unenclosed village. 61. Enclosures, their various kinds. 62. Enclosure of land for sheep. 63. The dissolution of the monasteries. 66. Its effects. 68. Tudor building. 70. Italian and Dutch influence. 74. The architect and the artisan. 77. Sport. Shakespeare and sport. 78. Hunting. 80. The hare. The hart. The hounds. 84. Hawking. 86. The breed of horses. 87. Popular sports. 89. Costume. Portraits.

CHAPTER V

HOW SHAKESPEARE CAME TO BE

92. Literature and the people. 93. The English language. 94. The new birth of Greek and Latin learning. 96. The Reformation. 97. The writings of Italy and France. 98. Translations. 100. The English theatre. 103. Shakespeare and the people. 104. Other poets. Prose.

PART II. THE KING, THE PURITANS, AND THE PEOPLE.

CHAPTER VI

THE STEWARTS AND THE PEOPLE

106. Star Chamber. 107. Court of High Commission. 108. The King's lack of money. 110. James I. 111. Customs and monopolies. 112. James I and his Parliament. 114. The Kings and the Judges. Ship-money. 115. The Bible and the Puritans. 117. Doctrine. 118. The belief in witchcraft and the persecution of supposed witches. 122. The Puritan ideals of conduct. 123. The Sabbath. 124. Church government. 125. The Presbyterian Church. 126. Toleration. The Independents. 127. Ceremonies. 128. Laud and the order of worship. 129. Hatred of the old ceremonies. Resistance. 130. Scotland and England. 131. The Reformation in Scotland. Two peoples under one King. 132. The Scotch and the Prayer Book. 133. The Long Parliament and the people. 135. Loyalty and law. 136. Faith in religion and in right. Cavaliers and Puritans.

CHAPTER VII

The Civil War—and Afterwards

1640-1660

138. A war of religion. 139, Religious wars abroad. 140. A war to restrain the King by law. How a country is governed. 141. Law, Custom. 142. Executive, judicial, legislative, financial business. 143. Policy. Division of power between King and Parliament. 145. Scotland and the Civil War. 146. English rule in Ireland. 147. Plantations. Strafford. 148. The Irish Rebellion. Cromwell in Ireland. 150. Division of country and classes in England. 151. The Parliament and the money-power. Lack of training for war. 152. "Trainbands." 153. Infantry. Musketry tactics. 155. The pike. The bayonet. Cavalry. 156. Sword and pistol. 158. Dragoons. Artillery. Regiments. Ranks. 161. Uniforms. Discipline. Pay. 162. Compulsory service. The Navy, before and during the war. 165. Rivalry and war with the Dutch. 166. Dutch arts; rivers and canals; banks; 168, their use and value. 169. Trade competition. Jews. 170. Colonisation. 171. Politics and sects in the army, 172. The Restoration.

PART III. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER VIII

The Nation at Home and Abroad.

1660-1789

173. No breaks in history. 174. The different characters of different periods. The period 1603-1660; 175, that from 1660 to 1789. 176. Effects of the Civil War. 178. Changes in the power and influence of Kings. 179. Power of Ministers. The Court. 180. Decline of Court influence. 181. Charles II and his Parliament. 182. Attempt to check rising power of Parliament. 184. No Popery. The Revolution of 1688. 185. The Bill of Rights. The Mutiny Act. 186. The Judges and the Act of Settlement. Juries. 187. The Constitution. 188. Checks on Government. Impeachment. 189. Responsibility of Ministers to the law, to Parliament. Revenue. Parliament unlimited. 190. Parties. 191. The landed aristocracy. Bribery. 192. The Cabinet and the Prime Minister. 194. Acts against Nonconformists. Test Acts. Toleration Act. 195. Non-jurors. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. 196. State Trials. 197. Religion in the eighteenth century. 200. John Wesley. 202. The Methodist Church. The Quakers. 203. Acts against Roman Catholics. 204. Ireland. Catholic Relief. Gordon Riots. 205. The Kings, the people, and foreign policy. 206.

Elizabeth, James I, Cromwell. 208. Charles II. Portugal. The Dutch. 209. William III. Hundred Years' War with France. 210. The Succession in Spain. Treaty of Utrecht. 211. Trade. Spain. North America. 212. India. Dupleix. 213. Clive. 214. Chatham. 216. The War of American Independence. 218. Scotland and England. 219. Trade and the opportunity for trade. 220. The British Empire.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

1660-1789

222. Modern statistics. 223. Population in the time of Doomsday —today. 224. Causes preventing, or permitting, increase. Disease. 225. War. Scarcity of food. 226. Foreign trade. 227. Its purpose. Its growth. 228. Roads. 230. Highwaymen. 232. Canals and improved rivers. 233. Coal and iron. 234. Coal and industry. Spinning and weaving. 236. Machines. Water-power. Steam. 237. Cotton. The Eastern trade. 238. Smuggling and wrecking. 239. Light-houses. Colonies. 240. Re-coinage under William III. 241. The Bank of England. The South-Sea Bubble. The National Debt. 242. Improvements in tillage and stock. 244. Enclosures. 245. The labourers. The French Revolution.

CHAPTER X

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

247. Art and the arts. 248. The desire for beauty. 250. Classical Architecture. The architect. 251. The five orders. Italian models. 252. Inigo Jones. 254. Decline of the craftsmen. 255. Wren. The Fire of London. 256. Wren's churches. 257. Decline of the classical style. 258. Gardens. Painting. 260. The foreign portrait painters. 262. Hogarth. The English portrait painters. 264. Landscape. 266. Separation of art from handicraft. 267. Miniatures. Engraving on copper. 269. Mezzotint. Stipple. 271. Furniture. 272. Oak. Walnut. Mahogany. 274. Chippendale, the Adam brothers, Sheraton. 277. Decline of furniture. Silver. 279. Sheffield plate. 280. Pottery and porcelain. 282. The art of the eighteenth century. Music. 284. Handel. Clothing. 286. Literature. Milton. Bunyan. 287. Dryden. Pope. Newspapers. 288. Steele. Addison. Defoe. Swift. Johnson. 289. The English novel. 290. Science. Mathematics. Astronomy. 291. Thermometer, Barometer. The human body. 292. Increase in other knowledge.

CHAPTER XI

THE SUM OF THREE CENTURIES

293. Forces working through the three centuries. The new

learning; 294, its effect on politics; 295, on science, on religion. 296. Printing. 297. Fire-arms. Predominance of Europe in the world. 298. Discovery. The adventures of the English. 299. Our debt to foreign nations. New changes in view in the eighteenth century. 300. The French Revolution. 301. The stimulus of war. 302. The people of England and ourselves.

Table of Dates - - - - - - - - - p. 305

Index of Topics - - - - - - - - - p. 309

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece.—Queen Elizabeth, from an engraving on copper. Observe the dress.

1, p. 7.—Henry VII. National Portrait Gallery.

2, p. 13.—Henry VIII, after Holbein. There is not much resemblance between father and son—nor was there in character.

p. 15, Tailpiece.—Silver-gilt cup and cover, height 13 inches, given by the mother of Henry VII to Christ's College. This and those on pp. 34, 105, 303, are from *Plate of the Cambridge Colleges*, E. A. Jones, by permission of the Cambridge University Press.

3, p. 18.—Martin Luther (1483-1546), after Cranach.

4, p. 22.—John Calvin (1509-64), after Holbein.

5, p. 27.—Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587). National Portrait Gallery.

6 p. 30.—Philip II of Spain, reigned 1556-1598.

p, 34, Tailpiece.—Cup and cover, St. John's College, Cambridge: engraved with coats of arms and Chinese figures on the bowl; height 22 inches.

7, p. 42.—Francis Drake (1540?-1596).

8, p. 45.—The *Great Harry*, or *Henri Grace à Dieu*, completed 1515.

9, p. 47.—Henry VIII embarking at Dover for France, 1520. From an old Print.

PLATE I, p. 49.—English silver coins (slightly enlarged). See description on plate. British Museum.

PLATE II, p. 51.—English gold coins (slightly enlarged). See description on plate. British Museum.

10, pp. 58, 59.—Map of Hitchin township, about 1816. The land has been partly enclosed, but in many places the acre and half acre strips are still in separate ownership, unenclosed. Notice the three great fields—Burford Field, Moremead Field, Purwell Field—in former times these were completely open, and each took, in its turn, one or other of the two main crops or lay fallow. Enclosure has been carried out most fully near the central village. From Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, by permission.

11, p. 64.—Cardinal Wolsey (1475?-1530).

12, p. 68.—Henry VII's Tomb, in the chapel known by his name, at Westminster Abbey. By Pietro Torrigiano (1516). This illustration, and those on pp, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75 and 78 are from *Early Renaissance Architecture in England* by J. A. Gotch, by permission of Messrs. Batsford.

13, p. 69.—Interior of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, begun by Henry VI, completed by Henry VIII. From an engraving of about 1840.
14. p. 71.—Part of Organ Screen in King's College Chapel. Renaissance carving in the Italian style.
15, p. 72.—Gate House, Stanway, Gloucestershire, showing gables in the Dutch style (about 1630).
16, ib.—Longleat, Wiltshire, about 1570. A new and very practical style of mansion.
17, p. 73.—Haddon Hall; steps to Terrace; end of 16th century.
18, p. 74.—Carved oak panelling of the time of Henry VIII.
19, ib.—Part of a ceiling moulded in plaster, Beckington Abbey, Somerset.
20, p. 75.—Lead Rain-water Heads. Haddon Hall.
21, p. 76.—Moreton Old Hall, Lancashire; 22, p. 76, Speke Hall, Lancashire; 23, p. 77, an old house at Chester: to show "black and white" work, in plaster and timber, end of 16th century.
24. p. 79.—Gate of Honour, Caius College, Cambridge. One of the earliest buildings in England executed wholly in the classical style (about 1570).
25, p. 81. Blickling Hall, Norfolk (1619-20). Part of entrance front. Classical style, but some features of earlier building, *e.g.* the gables.
26. p. 83. Queen Elizabeth hunting. The huntsman kneeling hands the knife to the Queen that she may "take assay" of the slain hart by slitting the flesh, to see how good and thick it is. From a woodcut.
27, p. 85. Queen Elizabeth hawking. Falcons are pursuing herons; one falcon is in the act of striking her bird. From a woodcut.
28, p. 88.—Morris Dancers, from Illustrations of Shakespeare, by Francis Douce. A youth with pipe and tabor. A man girt with a hobby horse. A woman and a man dancing. A youth with a coxcomb on his head, and a bauble in his hand with a bladder attached. Note the bells on the costumes of the male dancers. It is doubtful whether women took part in morris dancing.
29, p. 99 —The interior of the Swan Theatre, from a sketch by J. de Witt, 1596. Porticus=gallery. Sedilia=seats (in lower gallery). Orchestra=place for musicians, Ingressus=gangway. Mimorum ædes=the actors' room. Proscenium=stage. Planities sive arena=pit. The theatre is open to the sky.
30, p. 101.—The stage of the Red Bull Playhouse, Clerkenwell. From J. Kirkman's book, *The Wits*, 1673. Various characters are depicted; among others, Falstaff and his hostess, Mistress Quickly.
31, p. 104.—Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), from a miniature by Isaac Oliver.

p. 105. Tailpiece.—Silver-gilt cup, height seventeen inches, given by Elizabeth's Earl of Essex for the use of the Vice-Chancellors of the University of Cambridge.

32, p. 107.—A Pillory. The victim is Titus Oates, the informer of the Popish Plot. The inscription is *Testis ovat*, an anagram of Titus Oates, meaning, the witness rejoices. But his good fortune is over.

33, p. 108.—James I and his Queen. From an engraving on copper.

34, p. 113.—Charles I, after Vandyck.

35, p. 131.—John Knox (1505-1572).

36, p. 136.—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628).

37, p. 148.—Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (1593-1641).

38, p. 149.—Map of England, showing districts held by the King in May, 1643. (From Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War.*)

39, p. 153.—Two pikes, two bills, halberds, or partisans, and a battle-axe with a long spike.

40, p. 154.—A match-lock and a wheel-lock gun. From Windsor Castle, by permission.

41, p. 155.—Prince Rupert (1619-1682), third son of Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

42, p. 156.—Cromwellian horseman; iron cap, with frame-vizor; iron back and breast; buff coat; high boots with soft tops.

43, p. 157.—Two flint-lock pistols, late seventeenth century. From Windsor Castle, by permission.

44, p. 159.—Three ancient cannon. The top one is a breech-loader.

45, p. 160.—A. A field cannon, equipped with tools for working it. The rope coiled about the muzzle is for dragging the gun by hand in case of need. There are also poles for horse traction. B. A fortress gun, seen in its embrasure. C. A mortar. The gunner has in his hands a lighted match, and a length of fuse.

46, p. 163.—Portrait of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).

47, p. 164.—The *Sovereign of the Seas*, built out of ship-money in 1637. From an old Print.

48, p. 166.—Plan of lock, on a river. The stream is held up by the weir, a strong barrier over which the superfluous water flows. The lock is in a separate channel, specially cut. The lock gates have shutters, sluices, in them, which can be raised to let water through. The lower gates are shown as open; the water is now several feet lower below the upper gates than it is above them. A boat passing up-stream will enter the lock: the lower gates will then be shut; the upper sluices will be opened; the lock will fill until the water in it is as high as it is above the upper gates. Then the upper gates will be opened and the boat will pass through. A boat going down-stream will undergo the opposite process. Locks are of great importance for inland navigation. In the lower picture a series of locks, one above the other, are shown on the canal at Devizes. As there is little stream in the canal no weirs or separate channels are needed.

49, p. 177.—Charles II.
50, p. 179.—Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister, 1715-17, and 1721-42, died 1745.
51, ib.—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Prime Minister, 1756-61; died 1778.
52, p. 183.—James II. National Portrait Gallery.
53, p. 193.—George III. National Portrait Gallery.
54, p. 197.—The Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II (1649-85).
55, p. 200.—John Wesley (1703-1791).
56, p. 207.—The Dutch fleet sailing up the Thames, 1667. They penetrated up the Medway to Chatham. From an old Dutch print.
57, p. 209.—Louis XIV, King of France from 1643-1715; ruled from 1661 till his death.
58, p. 213.—Dupleix, Governor for the French in India, 1742-1754; died 1763.
59, ib.—Robert Clive (1725-1774). Governor of Bengal, 1757-60, 1765-6.
60, p. 215.—Cheringhee, Calcutta, about 1780: showing Writers' buildings, the offices of the Company.
61, ib.—Fort St. George, Madras, about 1780.
62, p. 217.—George Washington (1732-99): First President of the United States, 1789-96.
63, p. 235.—Spinning Wheel of fine workmanship. Victoria and Albert Museum. The use of this and seven other photographs is kindly permitted by the museum authorities.
64, p. 248.—Columns of the Five Orders of Architecture. From *Classic Architecture*, by C. F. Mitchell and G. A. Mitchell. By permission of Messrs. B. T. Batsford.
65, p. 251.—Inigo Jones' plan for a palace at Whitehall.
66, p. 252.—Greenwich Hospital. Part of the Queen's palace, built by Inigo Jones. 1617-35.
67, p. 253.—Panelled room with furniture, early eighteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.
68, p. 254.—Iron-work screen from St. John's, Frome. Victoria and Albert Museum.
69, p. 255.—The Eastern Quadrangle, Hampton Court Palace. Built by Wren for William III.
70, p. 256. St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street. Wren.
71, ib.—Bow Church, Cheapside. Wren.
72, p. 257.—Blenheim Palace. Built for the great Duke of Marlborough by Vanbrugh.
73, ib.—St. Mary le Strand. Gibbs.
74, p. 258.—Radcliffe Library, Oxford. Gibbs.
75, ib.—Senate House, Cambridge. Gibbs.
76, p. 259.—Lady Bellasys. By Sir Peter Lely.
77, p. 260.—Richard II, John the Baptist, and Saints. Fourteenth century wall-painting.
78, p. 260.—Godert de Ginkel (1630-1703). A Dutchman, general under William III. By Kneller.

79, ib.—Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), diarist, and Secretary of Admiralty, by John Hayles.
80, p. 261.—The Toilet Scene, from "Marriage à la Mode," by Hogarth. The lady is conversing with her chaplain, while her hair is being dressed. Music is being performed and coffee or chocolate served.
81, p. 262.—Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), by Reynolds.
82, p. 263.—Mary, Duchess of Rutland. Mezzotint by Valentine Green, after Reynolds.
83, p. 264.—Landscape, by Gainsborough.
84, p. 265.—Mrs. Siddons (1755-1831), great actress. Gainsborough.
85, p. 266.—Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), Scotch portrait painter, by himself.
86–90, p. 268.—Miniatures—Anne of Cleves, by Holbein, d. 1543. Henry, Prince of Wales, elder brother of Charles I, by Isaac Oliver, d. 1617. Richard Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper, d. 1672. Portrait of a Lady, by John Smart, d. 1811. Lady Anne Fane, by Richard Cosway, d. 1821.
91, p. 270.—Two Bunches a Penny. One of the "Cries of London." Stipple engraving by Luigi Schiavonetti, after Francis Wheatley, d. 1801.
92, p. 271.—Oak Chest, 1637.
93, ib.—Gate-leg Table, seventeenth century.
94, p. 272.—Chair, late Stewart period.
95, ib.—Chair, early eighteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.
96, p. 273.—Panelled room with furniture, early eighteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.
97, p. 274.—Inlaid Clock-case, early eighteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum.
98, p. 275.—Lacquered cabinet, about 1690.
99, p. 277.—Chairs from Chippendale's catalogue, in Gothic, Chinese, and Riband back styles. Legs are shown in different finish, to suit the taste of purchasers.
100, ib.—Latticed Table, Chippendale.
101, p. 277.—Silver cup, about 1570. Victoria and Albert Museum.
102, p. 278.—Chippendale bookcase.
103, ib.—Sheraton side-table.
104, p. 279.—Silver candlesticks, about 1760.
105, p. 281.—Moses in the bull-rushes: to show Chinese work after European design: about 1700. Victoria and Albert Museum.
106, ib.—Worcester tea-cup and saucer.
107, ib.—Bust in Derby white biscuit porcelain.
108, ib.—Chelsea statuette.
109, p. 282.—Wedgwood vase, with classic figures. Victoria and Albert Museum.
110, p. 283.—The Pantheon, Oxford Road (Oxford Street). Fashionable gathering for music, about 1780. This building was burnt down in 1792.

111, p. 285.—The Spruce Sportsman, or Beauty the Best Shot. Mezzotint, 1780, showing the extravagant head-dresses. Even the hair of the pretty serving-maid is much built up.

p. 303, Tailpiece.—Silver-gilt standing cup and cover, very richly sculptured; on the top a figure of Hercules. St. John's College. Height 25 inches.

p. 308, Tailpiece.—St. Agnes' Lighthouse, Isles of Scilly, recently disused. Built 1680. The glass lantern, of course, is modern, but the tower is unchanged.

THE PEOPLE IN ADVENTURE

PART I

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN TUDOR TIMES

CHAPTER I

THE NEW MONARCHY

I HAVE called this book "The People of England." It differs from other histories because I have not told you much about the doings of this or that king, this or that great man, this or that army. Those other things it is good to learn; you will have learnt them from other books; but I have tried to make you feel the people of England as one living being, enduring and growing through the centuries. I have tried to show you what the people, the nation, was doing as a whole, how it lived in town and country, how it kept the peace at home and how it made war abroad, how it worked and bought and sold, what it built and why, what it knew, what it believed, what it desired.

The value of history is that it should make us wise. If a man has lived a long while and has much experience, and has thought about the things that he has seen and done, he should be wiser than those who know nothing of the world. Our people,

our nation, has lived a long while. For a thousand years, since the time of King Alfred, there has been a people of England. Our people has, therefore, much experience. It has been ravaged by Danes, it has been conquered by Normans, it has learnt to govern itself, it has subdued and still controls great parts of the world. It has thought much about the best way to live as a nation. Our people has shown itself wise in the past; the wisdom of our fathers was gathered by their experience; their experience is written in our history. Each of us, by reading what the nation has done in times past and reflecting upon it, can have some share in the experience of the nation, in its tradition and its wisdom. Each of us must have some part in making the present and the future of the nation; therefore every one of us needs knowledge and wisdom. For it matters a great deal to us, to our children and our children's children, that our nation, our people, should be great, strong, wealthy, peaceful, noble, and just.

WHAT IS THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND?

History puts before us on her stage peoples, nations, countries, making war and making treaties one with another, conquering and being conquered. These peoples, these nations, these countries, are spoken of in history as if each was one person, a living being. Are the historians, the politicians, the newspapers, right in using such language? Is there such a thing as a people of England, or are

there only thirty-six millions or so of people—men, women, and children?

Here our language may lead us into confusion. We may say there are thirty people in this room, by which we mean thirty men, women, children. Or we may say that Becket or Wolsey was a man of the people, by which we mean that he was not born in a high family. But when we speak of the people of England we do not mean merely so many millions of men, women, and children, who happen to live in a certain three-cornered piece of land. Still less do we mean to exclude from the nation the exalted, the high-born, and the noble. All classes, high and low, rich and poor, learned and simple, townsmen and countrymen, landsmen and seamen, go to make a people. You feel, I feel, every one of us ought to feel, that the English people is one thing, one person, with a will of its own and the power to act as one man. This is very difficult to understand; yet we can feel it and know it to be true; there are many things that we know to be true and yet cannot understand.

It is felt most clearly in war that the nation is one. When the war with Germany began our nation was full of quarrels, of parties, it would almost seem of hatreds. But the nation, the people, quickly made up its mind that good faith required it to stand by Belgium, and, moreover, that its own safety and its own liberty were in peril together with those of France. Then all the parties came to be of one mind, all the quarrels ceased, the hatreds were forgotten. The whole

nation felt as one man, and acted as one man. The English people awoke, it stirred, it felt, it acted. That time of danger and suffering has taught us, what history shows, that there is an English people with an English soul, and not merely a crowd—Tom, Jack, Harry, Susan, and Jane.

KINGS AND THE PEOPLE

We learn our English history in sections marked off by the reigns of kings or of groups of kings. Those who wrote history in time past wrote of what interested them. The ordinary life of ordinary men and women was too well known to be interesting. Ordinary men only became interesting when they were discontented, or rebellious, or disorderly, stricken by plague or famine. Above them were a certain number of great nobles and churchmen whose acts and character and personal adventures were interesting to many. So the historian wrote of their deeds in war, their splendour, their policy, their rebellions, crimes, and intrigues. But above all stood the man who was King for the moment. His acts and his character were interesting to all, and thus history is full of trifling gossip about kings and their private manners. A good deal of this we can neglect without loss of wisdom.

But even nowadays kings still matter a good deal. If William had been born to be King in England, and Edward to be Kaiser in Germany, the history of both countries would have been different. Kings mattered still more in the Middle Ages, as you can see if you contrast the reign of

Stephen with that of Henry I, who went before him, and Henry II who followed. The people in those days could only act in public matters through the King; there was no Parliament and no Cabinet obedient to Parliament. The people had nevertheless a will, and if the King set himself against that will he was apt to be broken—as were John and Richard II. The people wanted good laws and good counsel; when it found that Henry III or Edward II or Henry VI would not, or could not, give what the people wanted, risings, rebellions, depositions, took place. But Edward I arose, who knew what the people wanted, and set himself to work out its will; the strength of the King and the people working together was doubled. Good laws were then made by which we still live; Wales was united with England; the Scotch were well-nigh brought under the English crown.

At a hasty glance the King seems to make the people; its mood, its fortunes, change with the King; but it is also true that the people make the Kings. Our Kings were Norman and French by blood, but they became English. The strongest Kings are those who feel what the nation needs, who seek the same ends as the nation, and are full of the same spirit. Therefore we may learn much about the English people by studying their Kings, just as by studying the Kaiser Wilhelm you can learn a great deal about the German people. The Kaiser Wilhelm is what the German people have made him, or allowed him to be. In the successful Kings of our history we see what kind of outward

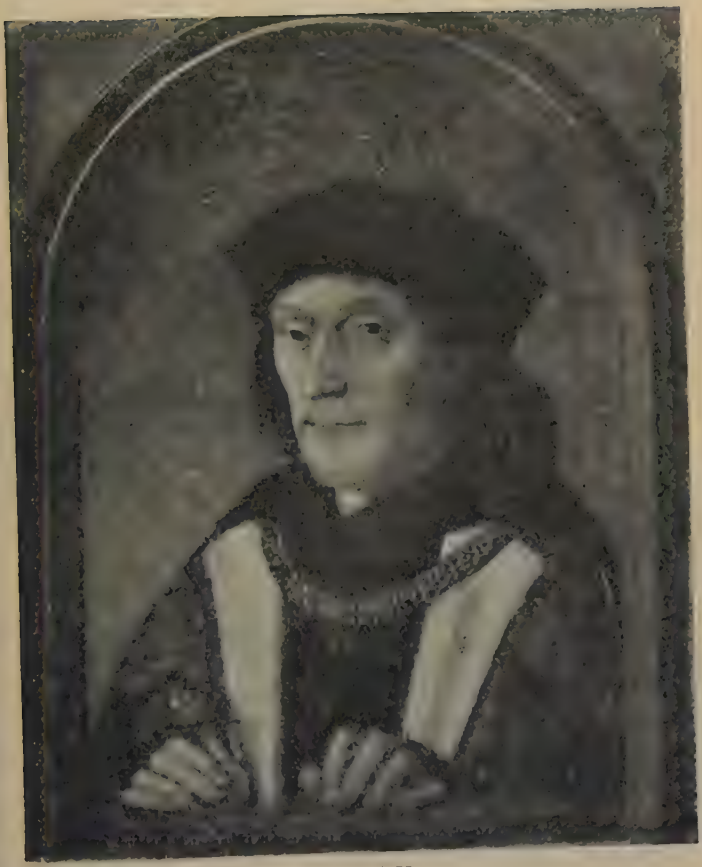
policy, what kind of laws and government, the people loved. In the broken Kings we see what kinds of tyranny or incompetence the people would not stand. But all the time the great unconscious life of the people also proceeds; the life of handicraft, of tillage, of building and rebuilding, of trade and invention, which the Kings do not affect except in so far as they provide or fail to provide internal peace and outward security.

THE NEW MONARCHY

I have said in my first volume that a new age may be dated to begin with the accession of Henry Tudor. It may also be said that a period ended with the death of Elizabeth. At least three of the Tudor sovereigns—the two Henrys and Elizabeth—were rulers of great character and force; they left their mark upon their time. But more—they had the great ruler's gift; they saw into the heart of the people; they knew what the people wanted, they knew what it would stand; they knew how to use its strength when strength was needed and how to take advantage of its weakness or its indifference. Great things were happening from 1485-1603; most of them would perhaps have happened whatever King might reign. But the Tudor sovereigns had character enough to set their own impress on the most stirring and adventurous period of English history. (1, 2, *Frontispiece.*)

THE KING AND THE CHURCH

Much depended upon the Kings after 1485. Before the Wars of the Roses there had been at



1. Henry VII.

least two powers which the King might fear to drive into hostility: the power of the Church and the power of the great nobles. The power of the Church was gone when the Tudors came; the old enthusiasm had died out; the people still held to their religion, but they no longer looked to their priests for guidance. It was difficult even to respect the clergy as a body. The bishops gave their time to the affairs of State; they lived in ostentatious splendour and amassed in their own hands the revenues of many sacred offices whose duties they left to deputies or neglected; they sought the King's favour rather than that of God. Many of the lesser clergy followed their example and thought all means worthy which might lead to promotion. The parish priest was often a clerk of all work for the landlord; one man often held many livings, and the holders of livings often did not reside to do the duty. We need not believe the stories that Thomas Cromwell collected when he had made up his mind to destroy the monasteries; but it is certain that the old faith, the old discipline, the old ideals of holiness had decayed—those which had led to the foundation of houses of monks and nuns. The zeal of the friars had died away—neither friars nor monks had any firm hold on the aims for which they professed to live, or on the affection of the people.

In a corrupt state of the Church, its men, and its institutions, the King might still use the clergy to serve his own ends; he was not likely to find in them a check on his own power or his designs.

THE KING AND THE NOBLES

During the Wars of the Roses the great families of the English nobility had been ranged with the red rose or with the white. Some had forfeited their lands when their enemies came to the top ; all were impoverished by the expenses of long warfare. Neither the whole body of the nobles nor the Yorkist faction could afford any effective opposition to Henry VII ; and that King was able to enforce the laws against livery and maintenance. When noble lords were no longer allowed to have bodies of armed followers in their pay (livery), nor to persuade their neighbours to join their faction by promises of maintenance—that is support in the law courts and elsewhere—the great men had nothing left but their wealth to give them strength. And their wealth was attacked by the King's Ministers, who imposed fines on every possible pretext and also exacted forced loans. After Henry VII had reigned the old Baronage could no longer be reckoned as a possible check on the power of the King.

THE COUNTRY SQUIRES

As the churchmen lost their sanctity, as the great nobles lost their power, other classes became important. The country gentlemen, those who owned one village or a few, were no longer overshadowed by their great neighbours ; they no longer found it necessary to attach themselves to a great man ; if they were ambitious they looked to the King for promotion. They sought offices at the Court ; they

served the King as soldiers and sailors; and when Henry VIII plundered the monasteries he had immense lands and tithes to give away to those who won his favour.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

Since the time of Edward III the government of the country districts had passed more and more into the hands of justices of the peace; the county and hundred courts did little business; the punishment of small offences and the preservation of order were in the hands of the country gentlemen, who held the King's commission as justices of the peace. Four times a year the justices of each county sat as a body in quarter sessions, dealt with more serious offences, and carried on the administration of local affairs. These justices were appointed by the King, and were intensely loyal to him. Through them the government of the countryside was secure in the King's hands. It needed a religious quarrel—the quarrel of King Charles and the Puritans—to shake the faithfulness of this class; and even then a great part of the country gentlemen stood by the King.

THE TRADING CLASSES

Already in the time of Edward IV industry and commerce were becoming active; the merchant adventurers sent their ships far afield; English wool was made into cloth in England instead of being sent abroad. Traders and manufacturers grew rich; some of them bought lands and settled down as country gentlemen; rich burghers sat as members

of Parliament and suggested laws to assist and regulate trade and industry. As the country became more wealthy under Henry VIII and Elizabeth the importance of this class increased. They also looked to the King for guidance; they were not inclined to resist him.

THE EDUCATED CLASS

By the end of the fifteenth century the effect of the foundation of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge began to be seen. In the Middle Ages education had been chiefly confined to the clergy. Now the number of educated laymen was rapidly increasing. Many laymen were trained as lawyers, and the legal profession was definitely separated from the clergy. Sir Thomas More, the best scholar of his time, was a layman. As the new learning, the learning of Greece and Rome, of Italy and France, became more and more attractive to Englishmen, knowledge and learning grew more and more common among laymen, and even a poor student might rise by his ability to the highest position in the State without using the Church as his ladder.

Thus we rightly speak of the new monarchy of the Tudors. Under those rulers the Baronage and the Church no longer counted for much; the landed gentry, the rich traders and manufacturers, the men of education, looked to the King for favour and fortune. The King chose his servants where he pleased; it was no longer necessary for him to consider—so much as in the past—the claims of men of great name and ancient birth.

THE PARLIAMENT AND THE KING

Under the Kings of the House of Lancaster the Parliament had grown powerful; it not only advised the King about laws and voted taxes, but it even interfered with the choice of the King's Ministers. The Wars of the Roses had strengthened the King and weakened the bishops, abbots, and peers of the House of Lords. The Tudors might have neglected Parliament. Instead of that they used it and managed it. The Parliament was persuaded, especially by Henry VIII, to vote such laws as the King desired. Thus the King's acts—for instance, the abolition of the monasteries—were made to appear as if they came from the great assembly of the people. The Tudors were clever enough to know what Parliament would stand; they avoided disputes with their Parliament; but at the same time they got their own way and employed Parliament for their own purposes. They governed by their own will, using the screen of Parliament when they thought fit. But they were too wise to set their own will against that of the people. What the people wanted they set themselves to accomplish; where the people was indifferent the King had a free hand.

THE TUDOR KINGS

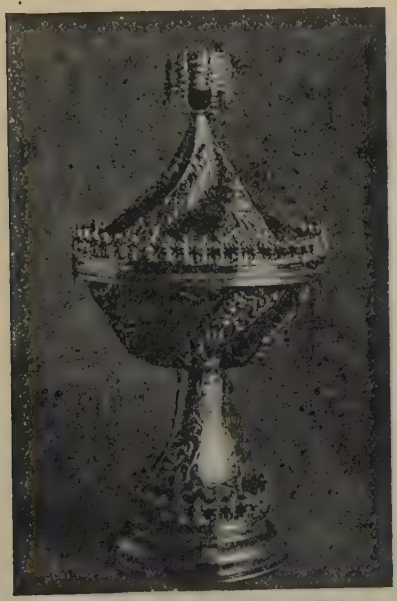
Two Kings and a Queen carried out the work of the New Monarchy. Henry VII restored order and discipline and amassed wealth. Henry VIII used the new revolt against the Pope to take to himself the authority of Rome; the King was to

Henry VIII.

tell his people what they should and should not believe. He took advantage of popular contempt for friars and monks and nuns to enrich himself and his courtiers with their plunder. When Mary came she could enforce obedience to Rome, but she could not get back the lands of the monasteries which had been given away or sold. The reign of Mary counts for little. Elizabeth, like her father, held herself supreme over the Church in England; she used the zeal and enterprise of her subjects to beat down the power of Spain, and began to establish the supremacy of England upon the seas all over the world. If the Stewarts had been as skilful in reading the mind of the people as were Henry VIII and Elizabeth they might have reigned in wealth, contentment, and glory. But neither James I nor Charles I understood the people of England. Thus they drifted into civil war.

Subjects became more equal when the Kings were so powerful. Suffolk, Buckingham, Exeter, fell because they were too great. So powerful a family as the Howards could not stand against the King's disfavour. Those whom the King set up he could also put down. Empson, Dudley, Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, all were discarded and stripped of wealth when they had done their work. Below the King there was little left that could resist the royal will but a great class of gentry and a rich class of merchants and manufacturers. The feuds of the nobles in the time of Edward VI and the pitiful fate of Lady Jane Grey served to show the real weakness of the great men, the power of

the royal office even when it was borne by a child or a woman. The time had not come when the people could be free; but there is more freedom with one master than with many. The Tudors might oppress their people themselves; they tolerated no other oppressor.



The Foundress Cup, Christ's College, Cambridge; 1435-40.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION

1529-1603

THAT the Church needed reformation in its government and in its parts was admitted by many of the best and wisest men at and after the time of the great Schism (1378-1418). The Council of Constance (1414-18) ended the division of Christendom between two Popes, but it was unable to reform the Church. For some time after the reunion of the Church the Popes were more concerned with recovering their authority in their own Italian dominions than with any question of church discipline. When the Popes became masters once more in Rome and its territory, they behaved rather as petty princes of the world than as leaders of Christianity. They were collectors of Latin and Greek manuscripts and works of art; they were scholars and patrons of painters, sculptors, and architects; they built up estates and princedoms for their relatives; they waged war against their neighbours. Some of them were little better than accomplished and elegant pagans; one was accused of enormous crimes—Alexander VI, Borgia. None of them was anxious to reform the Church; if it became necessary to hold a Council of the

Church, the chief anxiety of the Pope was to uphold his own authority against the Council. Thus the reform of the Church was left to national enterprise. Princes and peoples at last claimed the right to make their own religion, and to regulate Church government in their own territory. The steps taken to enforce their claims are called the Reformation.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

The one Church—Holy and Indivisible—was not in fact reformed. The vision of St. John the Divine shows us one Holy Church, the bride of Christ; and in the Creeds we profess our belief in the Catholic Church, one Catholic Church. But since 1054 A.D.—at least—there had been two Churches in Christendom: the Church of the East, which obeyed the Emperor of Constantinople, and called itself Orthodox—that is, rightly believing—and the Church of the West, which obeyed the Bishop of Rome, and called itself Catholic—that is, Universal. From about the year 1517, when Martin Luther entered upon his struggle with the Papacy, the Western Church began to break up into many churches. There was still one Church in the West, which kept the name of Catholic, and was ruled from Rome. But many millions of men, and some whole nations, repudiated the Church of Rome and formed themselves into separate Churches, the number of which cannot well be reckoned. These Churches were reformed; that is, each had its own new body of doctrine, and its own new method of

government. Even the Church of Rome was reformed by the Council of Trent (1545-63) and many abuses were brought to an end. But the Western Church as a whole was not reformed; it was broken up. When the Reformation was completed there was not one Reformed Church, there were many Reformed Churches, Protestant Churches, as we call them; but all the Protestants had in common some ways of thinking, and felt some sympathy with each other.

LUTHER AND INDULGENCES

All this movement of reform, of revolt, of revolution, was set going by one man, called Martin Luther (3), who began by attacking in Germany the system of selling indulgences. What the people believed concerning indulgences was not what the Church taught; but what the people believed was harmful to religion and profitable to those who deceived the poor. The common people believed that by paying money they could receive pardon during life and after death for offences they had committed, or might commit. The superstition of the people was thus made to bring gain to the

3. Martin Luther.
From the painting by Cranach.

Pope and others connected with the Church. But the great anger of Luther against indulgences led him further. The teaching of the Church about indulgences was quoted against him, and he was forced to say that he could not accept that teaching if it was contrary to his own understanding of the Holy Scriptures.

And if he, Luther, could not submit to the teaching of the Church against his own reason, then it followed that every other man had the same right to read the Scriptures for himself and form his own judgement. The decisions of the Pope, the tradition of the Church, the teaching of the priests—all these might be erroneous; it was the duty of every man to examine the Word of God in Holy Scripture for himself, and to frame his own beliefs accordingly. The teaching of Martin Luther led to this—that every man should be his own Pope, that every man should choose his own Church, that no man should need a priest to lead him to God. The Holy Scriptures alone remained; their truth remained unquestioned.

SACRAMENTS AND CEREMONIES

It followed that every man should have the Bible in his own hands in a language which he could understand. It was natural also that prayer and praise should no longer be conducted in Latin—the language of a learned class—but in the speech of the people. All old doctrines were examined and rejected if found uncertain. But those doctrines were chiefly attacked which gave power to the

priest. It was believed that when the priest blessed the bread and wine in the Eucharist a real miracle took place; that the bread and wine were actually changed into the body and blood of Christ. This miracle wrought by the priest seemed to show his great sanctity and authority; it was thought to have power for the forgiveness of sins; thus priests were paid to say masses for the living or the dead. The miracle was denied by all Protestants, as the new enquirers came to be called. Luther denied it in one way, others again in other ways; but no Protestant was inclined to admit the power of the priest to work a miracle in the Mass.

All ceremonies were looked upon with suspicion by the extreme Reformers. It was thought that the mysterious ritual of the Church service tended to superstition. The beautiful vestments used in the Catholic services were despised as Popish mummery. The Protestants were inclined to reduce the service of God to its simplest elements of prayer and praise. The seven sacraments of the Catholic Church—a great source of priestly power *—were cut down to two; and those two sacraments were held to be merely the commemoration of our Lord's passion—the Eucharist—and the solemn reception of a believer into the body of the faithful—Baptism.

RELIGIOUS VOWS AND CONFESSION

The rule which forbade the clergy to marry, and thus marked them off as a class apart, was con-

* Vol. I, Chapter X, pp. 264-5.

demned. The vows of monks, friars, and nuns—the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty—were held to be vain; the life of the religious Orders was despised, and their claim to superior sanctity denied; their faults, their sins, were pointed out; and wherever the Protestants were masters, the religious Orders were broken up. Luther himself—who had taken Holy Orders and vows of religion—married, and married a nun.

Confession to a priest was disapproved by Protestants, because of the power it gave to priests; and the power of priests to absolve offenders from their sins was often denied.

ATTACKS ON CHURCH PROPERTY

In the Protestant parts of Germany—as in Scotland and partly in England—the property of the Bishops and of the great religious bodies was seized, and taken by lay princes or nobles for their own use. The Protestant movement was, no doubt, strengthened in England and elsewhere by envy of the wealth of the churchmen and desire to possess their goods.

FREEDOM OF BELIEF

The idea of Protestantism was that every man should humbly and faithfully study the Word of God and frame his own religion for himself. But in practice so much freedom was not allowed. A large body of Protestants followed the teaching of Luther, who in his turn became a sort of Pope. Another great body followed Calvin (4), who not

only settled for all his followers what they should believe, but ruled as a master in his city of Geneva (1541-1564). There were many other teachers who fixed the beliefs of larger or smaller bodies. Hardly anyone really thought that teaching and belief should be free; almost all who troubled to think held that there was one true faith, and that all who disagreed with the true faith—as laid down by some man or some body of believers—were heretics, and should be converted by force.

4. Calvin.

THE REFORMATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

In Germany the rule was adopted that every prince should fix the form of religion for his subjects; this led at last to the Thirty Years' War (1619-48) which devastated Germany and left it weak and disunited — Catholics divided against Protestants, the Protestants again divided into Lutherans and Calvinists.

In France the followers of Calvin became very strong, and claimed for themselves not only freedom of belief but powers of self-government. The wars of religion in France (1562-1595) were not so bitter and destructive as in Germany; from 1598 to 1685 considerable freedom of belief was allowed,

but at length the Protestants were driven out of France (1685). The Protestants won their freedom from their Spanish masters in Holland but not in Belgium. In the Scandinavian countries—Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—the reformed religion prevailed. In Italy and Spain the Protestant teaching never gained much ground; and in Spain the Government set up a secret Court of judges called the Holy Inquisition, which had power to try all charges of heresy and inflict the most cruel punishments. This Court even judged and punished foreign Protestants who visited the ports of Spain or her colonies.

Thus the movement for freedom of belief that Luther began ended in greater intolerance and severity; and many of the countries of Europe were devastated by civil war—because men held their rival faiths so fiercely. At the end of the wars the Protestants had lost much ground which at one time they had partly occupied.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

In the reign of Henry VIII the teaching of Luther and the Swiss Reformers had followers in this country, and its influence slowly spread over here. But Church government was reformed in England before the old beliefs were given up. Henry VIII wished to put away Catherine of Aragon, his wife, and the Pope was not willing to oblige him. But for this accident Henry might not have denied the Pope's authority and set himself up as head of the Church in England. However, Henry knew his

people. He knew that it disliked any form of foreign rule, and in religion as in other things would prefer to be governed by its own King rather than by any alien prince or priest. Therefore he was safe in defying the Pope. He knew also that his people had no longer any faith in monks, and friars, and nuns. The movement that had created religious houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had died out. Many of the houses then founded had disappeared; for many years before Henry VIII's plundering no new religious house had been founded. Even the unhappy peasants and gentlemen who in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire made the rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace—partly against changes in religion—were not willing to resist the King's will to the uttermost or dispute his justice. The religious houses were an easy prey; the King desired their wealth and no man forbade him to take it. If Henry VIII committed a crime in plundering the monasteries the people of England was his accomplice, and its Parliament approved the deed partly before and partly after it was done.

Henry shook his country loose from the Pope, and his people was glad. He destroyed the monasteries, and his people acquiesced. He made himself master of the bishops and priests, and his people raised no finger to defend them. But neither the King nor his people was ready to change the time-honoured beliefs. Henry was willing that his subjects should read the Bible in English, and he gave them the Great Bible in 1539. Before his

death a Prayer Book in English was being prepared. But about the Sacraments, including the Mass, about confession, about vows of chastity, Henry maintained the old beliefs and punished heretics even with death. The new opinions were spreading, in spite of the King, but the people as a whole still held to its old faith.

Under Edward VI teaching became more free; and all sorts of teachers, including many foreigners, raised their voice. The Government became more Protestant. The lands belonging to the Chantries, or private chapels, which had been established all over the country that Masses might be said for the dead, were seized. The Government at least regarded such saying of Masses as a superstitious abuse, and many of the folk were coming to be of that opinion, especially in the towns. New Prayer Books were issued, based upon the forms of the older Church but composed in the English language and prepared so as to favour the new beliefs.

REACTION UNDER QUEEN MARY

Yet there was still a large party who held to the old Catholic faith, and when Mary came to the throne and restored the Catholic worship and discipline, the people tolerated the Catholic revival as it had tolerated a Protestant government in the days of Edward. The people had not made up its mind. But one thing Mary could not do, and did not attempt; she could not restore to the religious Orders the lands and property that had been taken from them.

ELIZABETH'S RELIGION

When Elizabeth came to the throne her position was very weak. England had just lost Calais to the French. Her force by sea and land was not strong enough to resist a determined attack. There were other members of the Tudor family who might head a rebellion against her. Many thought that Catherine of Aragon was unlawfully put away by Henry VIII, and therefore that Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, was never lawfully married. The most dangerous of these possible claimants was Mary of Scotland (5), great-grandaughter of Henry VII, the wife of the French Dauphin, and Queen of France from 1559-60. If Elizabeth became a Catholic she could reckon on an alliance with one or other of the two jealous powers—France or Spain, whichever suited her best. If she declared herself a Protestant she would have the Pope and all the Catholics of Europe against her, and at the time the Catholics had the upper hand. If she looked to her own country many of the nobles and gentry still clung to the old religion. She could look for no support from the Bishops, for they were the Bishops appointed by Catholic Mary. When Elizabeth declared herself a Protestant, almost all the Bishops had to be deprived of their bishoprics and imprisoned. Thus, if her choice was to be made by policy, the wisest decision was very doubtful.

Elizabeth declared herself a Protestant. It is difficult to believe that her own religious preference was very strong. While Mary was Queen, Elizabeth

5. Mary Queen of Scots.

had attended Mass, and it is said that she had promised her sister to make no change in religion. At no time did Elizabeth show any strong preference for one side or the other; rather she was willing to tolerate in her subjects wide differences of opinion. No doubt, like her father, she was determined to be supreme in her own country, and therefore might be unwilling to admit the authority of the Pope. But it is most certain that she would desire to be in concord with the true feeling of her people. The Tudors had the royal gift of reading the mind of their people; and if Elizabeth felt that her people was rather Protestant than Catholic, events have proved that her feeling was sound. Religious strife has been less bitter in this country than elsewhere, but, on the whole, this people is and has been a people that demands to think for itself—therefore, it has been inclined to the Protestant side.

ONE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

The claim of Henry, which Elizabeth maintained, that the King of England was to be supreme in the Church as well as in the State, preserved for several generations the unity of the Church in this country. The government by bishops was upheld; though the bishops were in fact nominated by the King or Queen, they were consecrated by their own order. The parish churches were kept up as centres of religious worship, for ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial. Opinion did not allow that every man should decide for himself

whether he should worship or how he should worship. Therefore, attendance at Church service was required of all, even of those who were Catholics; but those whose conscience forbade them to be present at the form of worship ordained by law got off with fines; and there was not very much searching out of heretics. Such persecution as there was aimed either at those who were thought to be stirring up rebellion against the Queen—the Jesuits; or at those who wished to hold separate meetings for worship of their own kind—the Puritans.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

The form of belief laid down by the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) was Protestant and not Catholic; but the Articles were not Lutheran nor Calvinist; and on many disputed points they seemed to allow that some difference of opinion was admissible. But on several important points they departed from the old belief—which we call Catholic. They declared that the Church might err; that Councils of the Church might err; only the word of God could not err. All beliefs must therefore be tested by the word of God. They denied the popular belief that Christ was offered as a sacrifice in the Mass for the remission of penalty or guilt. They denied the name of Sacrament to all those ceremonies which were not ordained by Christ Himself —leaving only the Holy Communion and Baptism. They forbade the adoration of the consecrated bread and wine, and the invocation of Saints; they

forbade the worship of relics and other practices thought to be superstitious. They allowed the marriage of priests. For the time these Articles were very mild and reasonable; and so long as the government was mild and reasonable, and so long as the governed were also mild and reasonable, peace might have been maintained in the Church of England.

RIVALRY WITH SPAIN

But the course of events made the government and the governed less mild and reasonable. Rivalry arose between Spain and England for trade in the western and eastern Oceans. Spain had great possessions in South and Central America. She claimed the sole right to trade with those rich countries. Portugal claimed similar rights in the East Indies and the eastern waters. After 1580 Portugal became for sixty years a province of Spain. Thus the English shipmen—a fierce and lawless crew—found themselves cut off, so far as the Spanish power prevailed, from trade with the new world in the West and the old world in the East. As they were not allowed to trade in peace they turned to robbery under arms. The Spaniards drew from America great treasure of gold and silver. The English plundered the Spanish treasure ships and the Spanish towns in America. Thus a private and piratical war began between Spain and England while the two countries were still at peace.

THE CATHOLIC ENEMIES OF ENGLAND

Spain not only barred the way of English trade;

6. Philip II of Spain.

she was also the champion of the Catholic faith. The Spaniards thought it their duty to put down Protestants wherever they could. They fought to put them down in Holland and Belgium. It was known that they would put down Protestants in England if they could, and put down the Protestant Queen. Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570 and declared that her subjects were no longer bound to be faithful to her. A year later, with the knowledge and consent of the Pope and the King of Spain, Ridolfi plotted to take the Queen's life. When the Spaniards had a chance English sailors and merchants were seized and delivered to the terrors of the Inquisition. Priests and Jesuits came to England to stir up the English Catholics against the Queen. Hence the people of England gradually came to feel themselves in bitter conflict with the Catholics abroad, and with the King of Spain (6) as their most powerful and unscrupulous leader. Things came to a head when the Spanish Armada set out to conquer our island.

Thus hatred of Spain as an enemy of England and her Queen, jealousy of Spanish wealth and Spanish trade, anger at the ill-treatment of Englishmen by the Spanish Inquisition, all went to foster dislike of the Catholic religion of which Spain was the champion. The Pope, who excommunicated Elizabeth and stirred up traitors against her in her own country, came to be hated as a national enemy. In the earlier years of Elizabeth, the Queen and her people were tolerant, perhaps even rather indifferent, in questions of religion. But by the end of her

reign the whole nation hated Spain, and with Spain the Popish system was hated by the great majority.

REVOLT AGAINST AUTHORITY IN RELIGION

The Queen herself upheld authority in the English Church. She expected the bishops to obey her, and the people to obey the bishops. She liked the dignified and splendid ceremonies and vestments of the old Church. But she had adopted the principles of Protestantism, which made it a duty for every man to examine the reasons of his own faith. Thus the Queen might require and enforce outward observance of the forms of religion as laid down by law; she could not prevent men from reading and thinking for themselves. Many of the clergy, many of the people, became more Protestant than the Queen. The authority of bishops was called in question; the dislike of all ceremony and splendid vestments became more general. At the end of Elizabeth's reign the sect of the Puritans was becoming important. These men were severe, serious, bigoted; they appealed to the Word of God at every point of daily life; they thought that the people should regulate its own religion; they leaned to one or other of the forms of popular Church government which had been adopted in other countries; naturally they came into conflict with the Queen. At the end of her reign Elizabeth took strong measures against these Puritans, who called in question her system of church government, and disliked the order of worship that she desired. Many of them went into exile, and found in Holland

men who thought as they did. If they came back, they came back still more embittered. We shall hear more about the Puritans in the next century.

CONCLUSION

The Reformation in England is part of a general movement in northern and western Europe. In England it began by a change in church government because Henry VIII quarrelled with the Pope. The King became Lord of the Church instead of the Pope. When the old discipline was broken down, the new royal discipline could not control the beliefs of the people. Under Elizabeth the Church became Protestant. Hatred of Spain and of the Catholic enemies of England encouraged Protestant feeling in England. At the end of Elizabeth's reign the Queen was vainly struggling against that principle of freedom in religious thought which she had adopted when she became a Protestant.

Covered Cup, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1683.

CHAPTER III

THE SEAMEN OF ENGLAND

WHICH was the best time to live in? The answer must depend upon your taste. If you like fat comfort, peace, and luxury, I should recommend the age of the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, or the time of Queen Victoria. If you love beautiful things, and beautiful words, the golden age of Athens would be hard to beat; though some might prefer the days when Lorenzo was master in Florence. For good, solid, and continuous fighting, the wars of Charlemagne would give satisfaction, or the years during which the followers of Mohammed spread their conquests east and west to the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. But the boy who loves both sport and books—and he is the most promising and the most fortunate of boys—might well wish to have been born in England about 1550. His schooling would then fall in the time when Greek and Roman learning was a new and glorious thing to Englishmen, and the schoolmaster felt that he had a gift to bestow rather than a task to enforce. He would have all opportunities for field sports, and he would be expected to make himself fit for war by horsemanship, and skill with the bow, the pike, and the firearms of the time.

The art of setting a sail and steering the course of a boat would also be very useful.

Then in his manhood he might sail with Drake or Cavendish to the Western Seas. He might pass the stormy straits of Magellan and see strange sights and fierce deeds on the Pacific coast. Then he might strike westward by Java and Sumatra, and so work homeward by the Cape of Good Hope to an English port. He might swap tales with travellers who had rounded the North Cape and penetrated to the mouth of the Obi; with men who had sailed on the Caspian; with others who had made the land journey from Aleppo to Ormuz, thence by sea to Goa, across the Indian peninsula to the mouth of the Hoogly, so to Malacca; then back by Colombo, the Malabar Coast, and Mosul, to Beyrout; with others again who year after year had tried to force their way through ice and fog and storm round the northern coasts of America to the North Pacific.

THE BUILDING UP OF GEOGRAPHY

Geography was not then all printed in a book or figured in an atlas: it was a scattered record won by personal adventure, danger, fatigue, privation The knowledge of the world was almost all new. Before the fifteenth century men of Europe knew the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and the Baltic. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese discovered Madeira and the other islands of the African Atlantic. In 1492 Columbus reached the Bahamas, and the discovery of America began. In 1497 Vasco

da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and found the south-east passage to India. In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa (not Cortes) from "a peak in Darien" first of Europeans saw the eastern Pacific. In 1520 Magellan passed the narrows that bear his name, and found the south-west passage to China and the Far East. Three quarters of the world that had been hidden from men of Europe were suddenly made accessible to traders and explorers. Every man who sailed the oceans was an explorer, for it took many generations to map out the seas. In the days of Elizabeth Englishmen were greedy for the new geography, and of a hundred captains each added something to the common store of knowledge. And the people listened with wonder and exaltation to the true stories of seas and lands and peoples hitherto unknown.

Geography was then a romance; travelling an adventure more dangerous than war. Now we can follow the paths of Magellan, or Drake, or Cavendish, without trouble, excitement, or peril. The youths of Elizabethan days had chances that are not given to us—unless we seek the Arctic snows, the sands and forests of Africa, the rivers of Brazil, or the cavernous valleys of Tibet.

And in his old age, such a boy, when his limbs were stiff and he was drawn to home and rest, would not have lacked great books to read—magical books of Greece and Rome unknown to his ancestors, romances and poems from Italy and France, and above all the new books of his own nation, books worthy of the glorious age in which

they were written; the books of Shakespeare, Jonson, Bacon, Spenser, Raleigh. That was a splendid time for living.

THE ENGLISH SHARE IN DISCOVERY

We say that the Englishman's home is on the seas; and for the past three hundred and fifty years the chief glory and profit of the Englishman has been won upon the water. But the English were slow to discover their natural vocation. In the Middle Ages the Mediterranean was the high-way of sea-borne trade; there the Englishman was at a disadvantage, because he was far from his home and his rivals were strong and many; but even in the North Sea and the Baltic the shipmen of the German ports tried to shoulder him away, and not without success.

When men began to sail the Atlantic England was well placed for this traffic. But Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards, were more prompt than the English to seek the new adventures. Though the Cabots sailed from England they were Italians, not Englishmen. The Portuguese were established in the Indies and Brazil, the Spaniards in Mexico, in the West Indian isles, and in Peru, before the English began to covet their trade and their gold. Even then the English did not at once begin to compete with the Portuguese and the Spaniards on the routes that they had made their own.

THE SOUTH-EAST PASSAGE TO THE EAST

Men may sail for pleasure, they may sail for

adventure, they may sail for discovery, but the main object of all navigation is trade. The trade of the East was the most alluring of all trade; its silk, its jewels, its gold, its sugar, its spices, had been known and coveted for more than two thousand years. The civilisation of India and China was older than the civilisation of Europe. The wealth of those countries was greater. That eastern trade had enriched Babylon and Tyre and Sidon, its overflow had made the treasures of Solomon; for that trade the Romans crossed the desert and established their outposts beyond the Euphrates. The wares of the East made Bagdad rich, and give their colour, their glitter, and their scent, to the stories of the Arabian Nights. In the Middle Ages a part of this trade continued, reaching Constantinople by overland routes, and moving by caravan from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf to the ports of Syria, where the fleets of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, took it up. But, when the all-sea route by the Cape of Good Hope had been opened, trade with the East became far more easy and more profitable. The bulk of this commerce passed from the Venetians first to the Portuguese.

THE SOUTH-WEST PASSAGE

Columbus thought he would sail west and reach the Indies from the east. He died in the belief that he had done so. That is why the islands off the coast of America are called the West Indies. It was long before men understood that a great continent stood between them and the countries of their desire.

The early discoverers imagined that America was a group of islands. Magellan found the south-west passage, but the Straits of Magellan did not offer so good a passage to India and China as the Cape of Good Hope. Magellan's road was used, however, by the Spaniards for trade in spices with the Moluccas.

THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE

The English, bent on finding a way of their own to the Indian Ocean, began by trying to reach the Far East round the north of Europe. Richard Chancellor (1553) rounded the North Cape, and reached the White Sea, whence he journeyed by land to Moscow. Stephen Burrough attained the mouth of the Obi. Others tried the land journey. Anthony Jenkinson journeyed by land from Moscow to Bokhara, and returned across the steppes to the Caspian Sea, which he crossed to Astrakhan and so returned to Moscow. Later, starting from Moscow, he followed the course of the Volga to the Caspian and penetrated into Persia. But neither the route to the East by the Arctic Seas, nor the overland routes through Russia, proved to have any practical importance in that time.

THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE

During the same period Englishmen were striving to make their way to China and India round the northern coasts of America. The greatest of these voyages of discovery were those of Martin Frobisher in 1576-7-8. But no practicable path for commerce lay through those icy waters, and

the voyages only served to increase our knowledge of the globe.

TRADE AND WAR WITH THE SPANIARDS

So the English were forced to follow the same paths as the Spaniards and Portuguese. It may be supposed—though it is not quite certain—that if the Spaniards had allowed the English to trade peacefully with their possessions in Central and South America the English would have been glad to do so. Nowadays we should think it foolish of the Spaniards to prevent anyone from trading with them. But in that time each nation tried to keep its own trade to itself, by force if necessary. However, the English were determined to have a share of this American wealth. They began by trying to trade in spite of the prohibition. John Hawkins (1562, 1564, 1567) obtained negro slaves on the African coast and sold them first to Hispaniola (Hayti or San Domingo), afterwards to the sea-ports of the Spanish Main—the mainland of Central and South America. By these transactions he won great profit, but in 1567, when sailing with Francis Drake, he found the harbours closed against his black merchandise. He used violence, came into collision with the Spanish fleet, and brought off two of his vessels with great difficulty.

Thenceforward the enterprise of trade became an enterprise of private war—we should call it piracy. The English sacked the Spanish towns when they could, they lay in wait for the Spanish vessels carrying treasure, they landed and plundered the

trains of gold and silver on the land. England was at peace with Spain. Elizabeth refused open support to her fighting seamen, though she secretly aided them with ships and money, and accepted a share of their booty. And so for nearly twenty years an unacknowledged and unlicensed warfare was carried on against the power of Spain by the mariners of England. Many cruel, wasteful things were done; but Englishmen regarded the sea as their highway, and they treated any man as an enemy who blocked their path upon the water. In those piratical voyages the sailors were trained who in their own ships, with little aid from the Queen's government, fought the great sea-castles of the Armada all along the Channel, and drove them to their ruin.

THE VOYAGE OF THE "GOLDEN HIND"

The greatest of these warlike journeys was the voyage of Francis Drake (7) in the *Pelican*, afterwards renamed the *Golden Hind*. In 1577 Drake left Plymouth, with four ships, a pinnace, and 164 men, and after coasting Africa to Cape Verde, crossed the Atlantic to Brazil. Thence he struck south to the Straits of Magellan. He was much troubled by his turbu-

7. Francis Drake.

lent sailors and the unruly gentlemen whom he had brought with him as volunteers. In Patagonia he quelled a mutiny and hanged the ring-leader, a gentleman called Doughty. It seems that Doughty had claimed authority from Burleigh; Drake silenced him by declaring that the Queen approved his project.

After passing the Straits of Magellan, Drake was carried south by gales and discovered that Tierra del Fuego was an island. Then he turned north again and followed the western coast of South America. Here the Spanish settlements lay secure and undefended. No European enemy had assailed them in these waters. With their firearms they feared no danger from the natives. Drake fell upon them, plundered Valparaiso and Lima, and at Panama caught a great treasure ship. Laden with plunder he prepared for his homeward journey.

But first he sailed far north along the western coast of America, until he was driven back by the cold. Returning, he landed near the site of the modern town of San Francisco, and named the district New Albion, claiming it for his Queen. Thence he struck across the Pacific westwards, touched at the Philippines and the Moluccas, threaded his way through the Malay Archipelago, landed on Sumatra, and thence for fear of Portuguese ships made a direct course to the Cape of Good Hope. After nearly three years he landed once more at Plymouth, having sailed around the globe.

The Queen received him with favour, and

accepted a share of his loot. Some of the great men at court declined his presents because they were got by piracy. But we are told that "the common people admired and highly commended him, as judging it no less honourable to have enlarged the bounds of the English name and glory than of their Empire." If we had lived then we should also have approved his deeds. Even now, all must admire his skill, his courage, and his constancy. The danger from the Spaniards, whom he braved, was far less than the dangers of the uncharted and stormy seas for his small ships and little company of men.

PREPARING FOR OPEN WAR

In 1585 Drake set forth once more from Plymouth, this time with twenty-one ships and two thousand men, to waylay the treasure fleet from Peru. He caught no treasure ships, and in the West Indies he found plunder hard to come by. But this was more like open war; and when, in 1587, he entered Cadiz Harbour and burned the shipping his act could bear no other name. In the next year the act of war came from Spain. The Armada, at any rate, was a lawful prey, and Drake and his fellows showed it no mercy. In earlier warfare men had laid their ships alongside the enemy, boarded their vessels, and fought as upon dry land. But the Elizabethans had learned that guns were the weapon of a ship, and by their gunnery, with vessels better planned and more handy than those of Spain, they saved England from invasion.

In their last expedition (1595-6) both Drake and Hawkins died at sea, as they would have wished. Their work was done; their country was secure.

8. The "Great Harry."

Drake he's in his hammock till the great Armada's come,
(Capten, art tha sleepin' there below?)
Slung atween the round shot, listenin' for the drum,
An' dreamin' all the time of Plymouth Hoe.
Call him on the deep sea, call him up the Sound,
Call him when ye sail to meet the foe;
Where the old trade's plyin' and the old flag flyin'
They shall find him ware and wakin', as they found him long ago!

RESULTS OF ELIZABETH'S TIME

Thus, within the life time of a single man, within a single reign, the reign of Elizabeth, the power of England on the wide seas grew up. Henry VIII built some fine ships, and founded the Board of Admiralty, which still protects our coasts and

shipping. (8, 9.) Henry was strong in the English Channel, where foreign fleets were bound to lower their flags in honour of ours, but his power did not extend beyond the Channel. Elizabeth did little for the navy; but she left the English seamen free, and the best way of helping Englishmen is to give them freedom. When Elizabeth died the English seamen were feared in all the oceans; they were not yet masters of the sea; they still had to fight their way. But they feared no man, and obeyed the orders of none. This beginning of English maritime greatness we owe to no King, no Queen, no statesman, and no Parliament, but to the bold race of English seamen and to the new spirit that had arisen among them and in the people. Even the country seemed to have turned its eyes from right to left—from the North Sea and the Continent of Europe to the Oceans and the lands beyond the Oceans. The harbours of the East coast became less important than Bristol, Plymouth, and the other ports of Devon. The word was Westward Ho!

TRADE

But it must not be forgotten by us—though some of these adventurous seamen forgot it—that war is not an end in itself. We labour to live, and to live better; and trade is a means of livelihood and better livelihood for a maritime nation. Behind this cloud of furious privateers fishermen were penetrating to the Banks of Newfoundland for cod, to the northern seas for whalebone and oil. A company

9. Henry VIII embarking at Dover, 1520.

was formed for trade with Muscovy — that is, Russia; another for commerce with the Levant — the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey; and at the very end of Elizabeth's reign the East India Company was formed. The first attempts were then made at colonising America; they were fruitless, but pointed the way to later successes. Navigation Laws were made to encourage Englishmen to trade by their own ships—instead of shipping goods in foreign vessels.

THE COINAGE

If a nation is to be rich it must be industrious—active in its wits and busy with its hands. If it is to be industrious, every man must be sure of his promised reward for work that he has done. Wages of labour and profit of trade and invention are paid in money; it is, therefore, important that money should be good and that its value should be certain, otherwise the industrious will be discouraged. The people of England, as I told you in my first volume (p. 67) has been more fortunate in receiving honest money than any other of modern times. But it took the English people many hundreds of years before they learnt to manage their coinage to perfection.

Before and after the Norman conquest practically the only coin was the silver penny. These coins were struck at many different places, and, although savage punishments were inflicted on dishonest coiners, pennies were often issued light or debased with alloy. Moreover, Jews and other dishonest

PLATE I.

SILVER COINS.

1. Penny, William I.
2. Penny, Henry I.
3. Penny, Edward I.
4. Groat, Henry VI.
5. Shilling, Henry VII.
6. Sixpence, Elizabeth.
7. Half-Crown, Charles I.

people used to clip the coins, or sweat them—that is, reduce their weight by putting them in a bath of acid. So that, if a large sum was to be received, it was not enough to count the pence; it was necessary to weigh them and test them to see if they were pure. The people for small change would cut the pennies in half, or in quarters. Round farthings and halfpence were coined by Henry III, and that King also issued a silver groat, worth fourpence. He struck also a gold penny, but the merchants did not favour this coin. Edward III first succeeded in producing a gold coinage that was popular—nobles, half nobles, and quarter nobles, the noble being worth seventy-two pence. Henry VI struck gold angels, at the value of six shillings and eightpence each, and Edward IV issued a new noble, with the stamp of a rose added on the ship. Henry VII gave us a sovereign of twenty shillings, and in his reign a shilling was first coined. Until Henry VIII our kings did their best to keep the money pure and even in weight; but they did not succeed very well, and the best money was taken abroad or melted down, in spite of all penalties that were threatened. (Plates I, II.)

During the time of Henry VIII the coinage had been debased of set purpose by the King's orders, and at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign money was in great disorder. All kinds of money were in circulation, and no piece of money had any certain value; all had to be weighed and tested. Elizabeth called in the old bad money, and issued good money, of sound quality and honest

GOLD COINS.

1. Gold Penny, Henry III.
2. Noble, Edward III.
3. Angel, Henry VI.
4. Sovereign, Henry VII.
5. Guinea, Charles I.

weight. At this time great quantities of silver were coming to Spain from the New World. The Spaniards tried to keep this silver for themselves, but they could not prevent a part of it from flowing out abroad, and some of it came to England. Silver is like other goods; when it is abundant it becomes cheap. When money becomes cheap other things become dear; less can be bought with the same money. Thus throughout the reign of Elizabeth prices were rising. Rising prices encourage those who grow food on the land, or who make goods to sell. So, by the fall in the value of money, industry was encouraged and the nation grew rich. The poor may suffer through the rise of prices, but they benefit through more constant and better employment, and eventually wages rise also. On the whole, it was a very prosperous time; above all, there was peace at home.

THE STATUTE OF APPRENTICES

To regulate wages and employment the Statute of Apprentices was passed in 1563—the Statute by which we were governed for 250 years. The craft-guilds of which I spoke to you in my first volume had broken down. They no longer secured that men who wished to practise a trade should first learn that trade. Their regulations had become inconvenient, so that men went to work in the country or in small towns to escape the rule of the guilds. The guilds were suspected of attempting to keep prices high to the disadvantage of the people. Some of their powers had been taken from them

and given to the authorities of the towns. Under Edward VI a part of their property had been taken from them because it was devoted to religious purposes, which the rulers now held to be superstitious.

So Elizabeth's Parliament took up the question of wages and employment. They ignored the guilds and ordered that no man should practise any trade unless he had first served as apprentice to that trade for seven years. The Statute endeavoured to prevent boys from leaving agriculture to follow the other trades, and to arrange that there should not be too many workers in any trade. It was recognised that with the rise of prices wages must be raised, and it imposed upon the Justices of the Peace the duty of fixing fair rates of wages for every district.

The Act no doubt attempted to do more than can be done by Act of Parliament, and in course of time many of its rules were found very inconvenient. But it destroyed, finally, the rule of the guilds, and endeavoured to put wages and employment on a national basis. It was intended to keep men on the land, to provide for national purposes a strong and healthy race of men. It was intended to secure that every workman should be properly trained in his art. And it endeavoured to secure just wages. The Justices of the Peace were not perhaps learned enough in the customs and conditions of every trade to give the wisest decisions, and they were sometimes interested in keeping the rate of wages low. But on the whole no better body of men could have been found at the time to fix just wages between

man and man. Under this law England throve and became a great and prosperous industrial country.

NEW TOWNS

In this time several villages were growing into towns that now are famous. Manchester had become a flourishing centre for the weaving of linen and wool. The village of Birmingham was full of forges and ironworks. At Sheffield the cutlers had established themselves. London was still the great centre of trade and growing rapidly; the new companies for trade with Russia, Turkey, and India, had their home there. The Government tried to check the growth of London, but without avail.

CONCLUSION

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a new spirit arose among English seamen. They were not content with the narrow seas; they made their way to all the corners of the globe. To do this they had to fight; but the fighters prepared the way for peaceful traders. Meanwhile, the folk at home were working hard; and the traders found in our country useful and valuable things to carry abroad. The beginnings of England's sea-power and her world-wide commerce were laid.

CHAPTER IV

THE COUNTRY IN TUDOR TIMES

1485-1603

I HAVE tried to make it clear to you that man's way of living has changed more in the last forty years than in the previous sixty, more in the last hundred years than in the previous three hundred, more in the last four hundred years than in the previous thousand, and probably more in the last two thousand years than in the previous ten thousand. Of Europe, at least, that is true—of Egypt, of Mesopotamia, of China, it may not be true; but even in those countries Europeans are at work, and habits two, three, and four thousand years old are changing day by day. The modern European is a lover of change; he is always trying a new way of doing the old thing. Man walked on his legs for many thousands of years before he tamed the horse; after the horse had been tamed it was a long time, but not so long, before man invented wheeled carriages; after being content for three thousand years or more with horses to draw him or carry him, in the last hundred years man has invented steam locomotives, tramways, motor-cars, electric railways, and flying machines; all new ways of

getting about the country. That is only one example of the increasing rapidity of invention.

Change begins by a new idea. But a new idea does not alter the ways of men, unless many men adopt it. Where there are many men together new ideas are likely to arise. Men sharpen each other's wits by frequently meeting together; each learns something from the other. When many men live close together new ideas get known more quickly. A wheelbarrow is an ingenious invention; if it were discovered for the first time in a town hundreds would see the new device for sparing the backs of men; many would scoff, but others would imitate, and so the idea would spread. If the same invention were made in a small village, the knowledge of the wheelbarrow could only spread very slowly, for few would come to know of it. Thus in the country change has always been more slow than in towns. New ideas are fewer in the country and they spread less quickly.

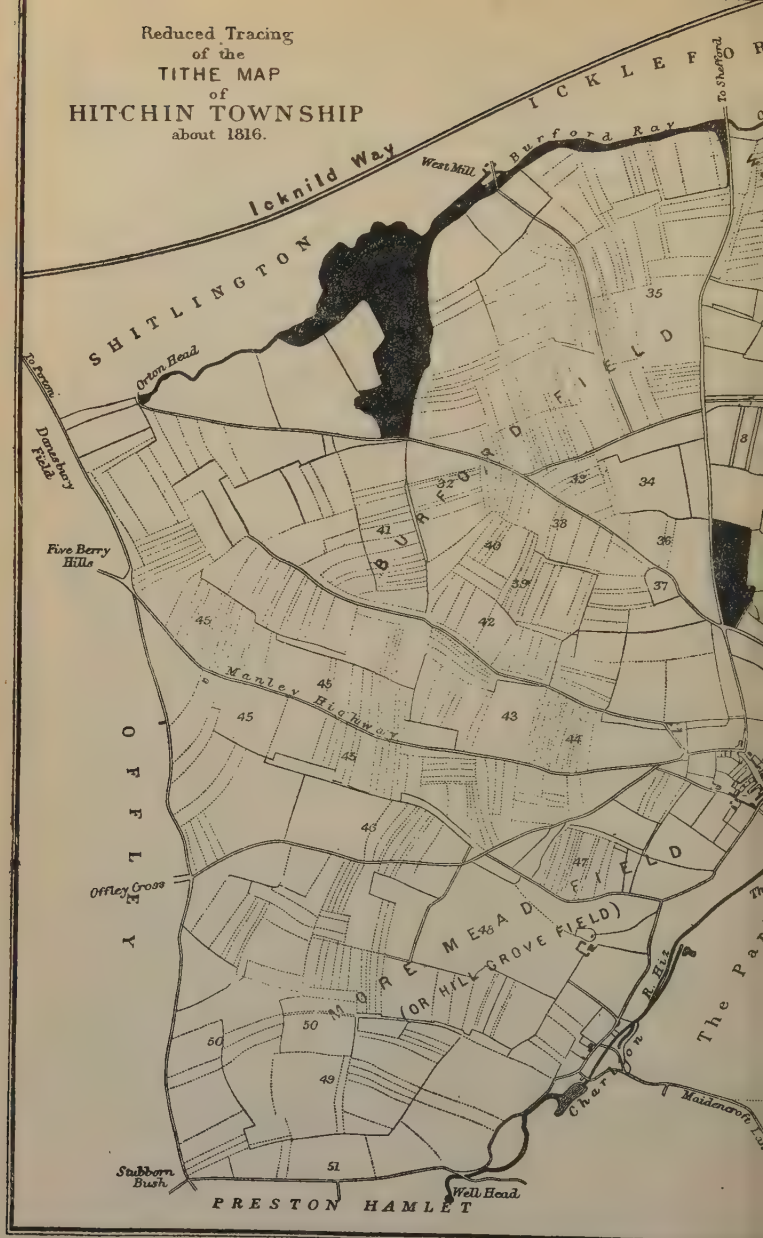
CHANGE IN THE UNCHANGING COUNTRY

The very life of the country seems opposed to change. The regular succession of the seasons, the slow movements of the browsing cattle, the invisible growth of trees and plants, suit well with the patient and changeless methods of the men who till the soil. Day follows day, harvest follows seed-time, generation follows generation; the land does not change, nor the nature of the crops and beasts; the men do not seek for novelty. And yet by degrees there are changes.

Such changes are more rapid when new men come into the land. The Anglo-Saxons made a great change; the monks made another great change; the Danes, the Norsemen, the Normans, all introduced something that was new. There was a change when the accounts of country estates began to be written down, about 1250 A.D.; another change when money was accepted by the landlords from the peasants instead of work.

The Great Plague of 1349-50 began another great change. The same country had to be worked with little more than half the number of men. Nearly half the estates must have passed into the hands of new masters; nearly half the holdings of land must have been worked by new tenants. The old customs that had continued without much change for many generations did not suit the new conditions. Everything had to be rearranged, and every one must have been discontented. Custom makes hardships easy to endure; unfamiliar hardships arouse anger. Thirty years after the Great Death this discontent reached a head and caused the Peasants' Revolt.

Gradually the bondage of the villains disappeared, or became of no importance. Land was more and more let for rent, more and more worked by hired labour. It was impossible to work the land according to the old customs; men were forced to think of new plans. And thus about a hundred years after the Great Death men were talking a great deal about enclosure; that is, fencing land previously unfenced. But enclosures were of


Reduced Tracing
of the
TITHE MAP
of
HITCHIN TOWNSHIP
about 1816.
Icknild Way
ICKLEFO
To Shefford
Burford Ray
West Mill
SHITLINGTON
Orton Head
To Pirton
Danesbury Field
Five Berry Hills
BURFORD FIELD
Manley Highway
OFFLEY
Offley Cross
MORE MEAD FIELD
(OR HILL GROVE FIELD)
R. Hiz
Charlton
The Pa
Maidencroft La
Stubborn Bush
Well Head
PRESTON HAMLET
35
34
32
33
38
36
41
40
39
37
42
45
43
44
46
47
48
50
49
51

Hyde Mill
1 Croft Field
2 Welshmans Croft
3 Little Welshmans Croft
4 Bury Field
5 Bury Field Lammas
6 Bearton (Buryton?) Old homestead
7 Bearton Green
8 Dº Dº Field
9 Cock Mead Lammas
10 Cow Common Lammas
11 Walsworth Holmes
12 Great Wimbush Field
13 Lammas
14 Short Shadwell Shot
15 Long Dº
16 Great Benslow Hills
17 Little Dº
18 Nettle Dell
19 Little Wimbush Field
20 Benslow Hill Shot
21 Reed Shot
22 Wymondley Highway Shot
23 Beggarly Shot
24 Beech Tree Field
25 Horne Shot
26 Purwell Grove
27 Riddy Shot
28 Standhall Field
29 Spittal Field Common
30 Standhall Common
31 Burford Common
32 Red Hill Shot
33 Sparrow Bush Shot
34 Hag Dell Shot
35 West Mill Field
36 Chalk Dell Shot
37 Chalk Dell
38 Chalk Dell Lane Shot
39 The Linces
40 Below Linces
41 Ducks Land
42 Gaping Hill
43 Fox Holes
44 Crow Furlong
45 Manley Highway Shots
46 Moor Mead Bottom
47 Moor Mead
48 Great Moor Mead
49 Sweeting Valley
50 Parson Hedges
51 Temple Hedges
52 Butts Close
WALSWORTH HAMLET
BURY FIELD
R. Hiz
Purwell R.
Purwell Mill
PURWELL FIELD
Wymondley Highway
Ippolyts Brook
MUCHWYMONDLEY
Scale of a Mile (each division being an Acre)
FURLONG

several kinds, some good and some bad. To understand what was going on we must describe, once more, the unenclosed village. It will be good to refresh your memory.

THE UNENCLOSED VILLAGE

Every village was different from every other village, but all had some common features. Let us take the simplest case; a village belonging to one lord. Such a village might have some woodland, which was held to belong to the lord, though the villagers had the right to feed their beasts in it at certain times. It would also as a rule have some waste—heath, moorland, down, gorseland, or marsh; on the waste the villagers had again the right to pasture their cattle. The lord would have his house, with a certain amount of enclosed land about it. There would be meadows, shut up for hay in the spring and summer, and used for pasture after haytime; these would be shared by custom between the villagers and the lord.

The ploughland would be divided into three great open fields. These fields were each divided into strips of an acre or half an acre. The lord had so many strips in each field; each villager would have so many strips in each field—more or fewer, according to the size of his holding. When field A was fallow, field B would be sown with oats or barley or peas or beans, field C with winter wheat. The next year A would carry winter wheat, B would be fallow, C would grow oats etc. The third year A would bear oats etc, B winter wheat, and C would

be fallow. The fourth year the crops and fallow would be as in the first year. (10).

Thus every man would be bound to a certain order of crops, and every man would be obliged to arrange his work so as not to interfere with his fellows. The plan was very wasteful of land and labour.

ENCLOSURES

Enclosures might be of at least three kinds. First, the lord might enclose a part of the waste for cultivation or for a park. This was lawful, provided enough was left for the pasture of the village beasts. If enough land was left for pasture, the cultivation of the waste was a clear improvement; there was more food for the nation, and more work for its men, and the village grew richer and more populous. But sometimes—perhaps often—the lord enclosed so much that enough pasture was not left to the villagers.

Secondly, the lord and his villagers might come to an agreement to divide up all the meadow and cultivated land, so that each would have his own piece, which he could surround with his own hedges, subdivide as he thought best, and cultivate as he pleased. This was a great improvement, and writers upon husbandry recommended it. But it was difficult to arrange fairly, and difficult to get an agreement between the lord and all his tenants. However, a certain amount of compulsion was no doubt possible, and this plan was not infrequently adopted. But the greater part of the cultivated land

of England continued, until the eighteenth century, to be worked in the great open fields. You will hear later how the rest of the land came to be enclosed.

ENCLOSURE OF LAND FOR SHEEP

The third kind of enclosure was altogether bad, but it was common at the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Wool was at this time very valuable, and it was more profitable to the landlord to raise sheep than to grow any kind of crops. On many estates the landlords managed to get rid of all their tenants, enclosed all the land in a ring-fence, laid it down for grass, and turned it into a sheep-walk. Whole villages fell into decay, and churches stood unused and unrepaired. The land supported sheep instead of men, and hundreds were turned out to tramp the highways—to beg or to rob.

Parliament passed laws to prevent enclosure of land for sheep, but the laws did not do much good. Sheep-walks increased until they ceased to be more profitable than ploughland. Gradually the men who had been turned out settled down in the towns or elsewhere. Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth the complaints cease.

Thus, in the Tudor period, great changes took place in the manner of life and in the appearance of the country in those parts where the land was enclosed. All this time prices were rising very fast, till at the end of the Tudor age food and other necessaries cost four times as much as at the

beginning. This must have caused great trouble, since wages rose more slowly. But the great prosperity of the country made up for it; for there was peace at home. By the end of this period all the peasants were free, and if they could not live at home they could go away and earn their livelihood elsewhere. Moreover, those peasants who had retained their land were more secure in the possession of it; the law protected them.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

Another very great change took place in the country while the Tudors reigned. All through the length and breadth of the country monasteries had been built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were endowed with wide lands, occupied by many thousands of tenants. In the thirteenth century many friaries were also built, but these were chiefly in or near the towns. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries few monasteries were founded, and many that had existed disappeared. Many of the remainder were small and poor, but there were still a number very rich and powerful. Henry VIII destroyed them nearly all, both great and little, between 1530 and 1540.

Wolsey began this policy of plunder. (11.) Henry VIII carried it on—carefully at first, attacking those monasteries that were small and poor. He sent out agents to inspect the lesser monasteries, and the agents brought back many shocking tales about them. Now I am not prepared to say that there was nothing wrong with the smaller houses

of monks and nuns. It is more difficult to maintain stern discipline in a small house than in a large, and men and women are still men and women, though they be monks and nuns. But I think it would be unsafe to believe a single word that Henry's envoys reported. They were sent out to find evil and they found evil. They were hasty in their enquiries; they could not have learnt the truth in so little time as they gave. No upright and careful man would condemn any man or woman on such evidence. However, Henry persuaded his Parliament that the smaller monasteries were homes of iniquity; they were abolished by Act of Parliament. The monks and nuns were turned out, with small pensions or sums of money or none at all. The roofs were stripped, the treasures were seized, the lands were taken for the King and his friends.

11. Cardinal Wolsey.

After Henry had put down a rising in Lincolnshire, and another, more formidable, in Yorkshire, he became more bold. He himself had admitted that the greater monasteries were well conducted. Yet, by enforced surrender, or by trying and condemning to death those brave abbots and priors

who refused to betray their trust, he seized the great monasteries and friaries throughout the kingdom. Then when he had done his work he called upon Parliament to approve it. It may have been a good thing to destroy the monasteries; it may be a bad thing that men and women should live as monks and nuns; but if that destruction was a good act, no good act ever so much resembled a crime in the manner of its execution.

The most beautiful buildings were left ruined and desolate. The lead torn from the roofs was melted —by fires made with the woodwork of the sacred building—cast into ingots, and sold. The bells were broken up and marketed for their metal. The gold and the silver and the jewels of the holy place, the vestments of God's service, were packed up and sent to the King. The buildings were sometimes turned into mansions, but more often used as quarries for stone. The timber was often felled. Henry did not attack the cathedrals, but the wealth of the great shrines of saints attracted his covetous hand. St. Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas à Becket) was declared to be a traitor, and his tomb was plundered. Five thousand ounces of gold, four thousand ounces of gilt plate, five thousand ounces of silver, and many jewels, some of great size, were the spoil. The shrines of St. Cuthbert at Durham, of St. Swithun at Winchester, of St. Richard at Chichester, with many others of less note, were pillaged in like manner; though these saints could not be accused of treason.

The total value of the lands taken by the King

from the monasteries is reckoned at £200,000 a year, worth at least £2,000,000 of our money. If the King had kept these lands for himself, and managed them wisely, he would have needed little or no taxation. But the plunder was wasted—sold for far less than its value or given away. The tithes belonging to the monasteries were sold or given away like the other property. Two-fifths of the tithe, originally intended for the support of the Church and the poor, thus came into the hands of laymen. When it was all over the King was not much richer than he had been before. This was perhaps fortunate, for if the Stewarts had not been dependent on Parliament for their revenue, the liberties of the nation would have been in danger. But never was wealth and beauty more wantonly destroyed. For one pound that came to the King it may be guessed that two went to the other robbers, and more still were utterly destroyed.

Six new bishoprics were founded, and two Colleges—Trinity at Cambridge and Christ Church at Oxford—were enriched. But on the whole few new institutions took the place of those that were swept away. The grammar schools of Edward VI were poorly endowed, and did not by any means suffice to do the teaching that had been done by the monasteries. Education was checked, and in consequence there was a great falling off in the number of students at Oxford and Cambridge.

EFFECT OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

The number of monks, canons, friars, and nuns,

who were turned out, is smaller than one would expect; it may have been 8,000 or 10,000. But their servants and other dependants must have been many more. For their tenants and neighbours the change must have been for the worse. On the whole it seems probable that the monasteries were indulgent landlords—at any rate, their ways were known. The new men who came in their place cared nothing for old customs. They were anxious to make the most of their new lands. They enclosed commons and waste; they raised rents. Two or three generations had to pass before the new landlords came to know and respect the habits and the feelings of the countryside.

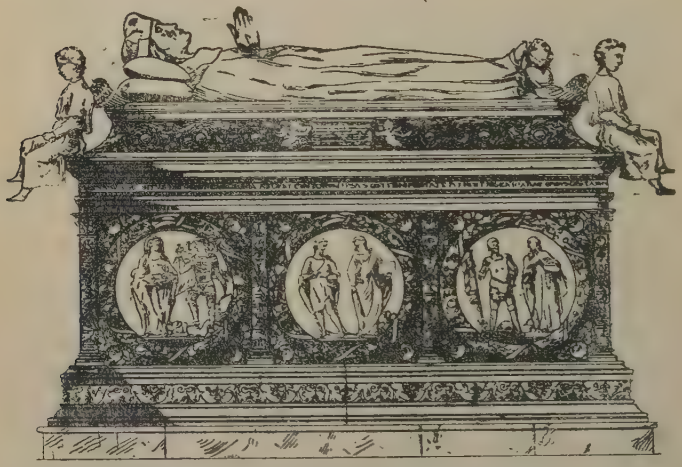
The monasteries had always cared for the poor —not perhaps in the wisest way; but almsgiving had been a part of their religion. After their destruction the number of beggars and tramps and highwaymen increased exceedingly. After the Reformation the parish priests were allowed to marry, and had the less to give away in charity. The destruction of the monasteries was a robbery of the nation, but it was especially a robbery of the poor.

The monasteries entertained travellers, both the rich and the poor. The rich travellers could find their own entertainment elsewhere, but the poor wayfarers were no longer secure of a night's lodging and a meal. Many hospitals for the sick were closed in London and elsewhere. Nearly three hundred years later, Cobbett, riding throughout England, found evidence in every part of the

injury done to the poor by the destruction of the monasteries. And Cobbett was no Papist. Supposing that the destruction of the monasteries was desirable, yet the manner of their destruction was altogether bad; and no attempt was made to preserve the good that they had done.

TUDOR BUILDING

In the Middle Ages men built monasteries, churches, castles, and walled towns. In the Tudor



12. Henry VII's tomb, in Westminster Abbey. Pietro Torregiano (1516).

time they built houses for men to live in. All over the country the rich squires built houses, great or small. And it would seem that the villagers also were building in more solid fashion. Many of the cottages which make our villages so beautiful must

13. Interior of King's College Chapel.

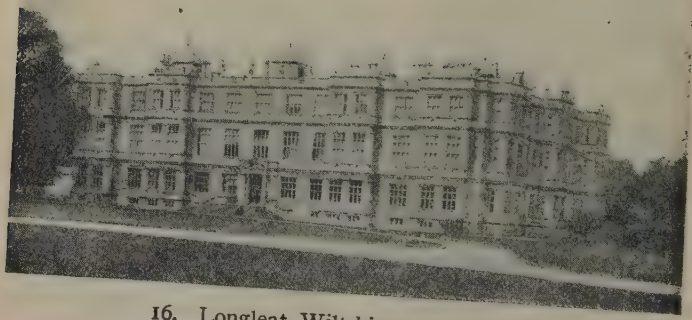
be as old as the sixteenth century. The peasants built in brick, or in brick with a wooden frame work; in other places the timber frame was filled in with plaster; where stone was abundant stone was used. The roofs were thatched, or tiled, or covered with slates, according to the locality. Peace and security encouraged more durable building, and the houses of the rich were built for comfort and beauty, no longer at all for defence, though turrets and battlements were built because men were used to them.

In Italy at this time men had fallen in love with all the works of Greece and Rome. They copied their buildings; the fluted column with its Corinthian capital was used in all new buildings. Englishmen travelled much in Italy and copied Italian ways. Italians came to England. The tomb of Henry VII, in Westminster Abbey, was built by an Italian (12). Italian ornament appears in many of the sixteenth century buildings. The organ screen in King's College Chapel, at Cambridge, is perhaps the finest example. (13, 14.) Later on, in the reign of Elizabeth, Dutch workmen had much influence in English buildings; they also used the classical forms but used them in a different way; their gables, stepped or curved, can be recognised. (15.)

But, although the English builders of the sixteenth century borrowed much from the Italians and the Dutch, they made out a style of their own. They retained the gable roofs, the bay windows, the battlements, the towers and turrets, of the earlier style. They made their chimney stacks bold and

14. Ornament from King's College Chapel Organ Screen.

15. Stanway, Gloucestershire (about 1630). The Gate House, showing Dutch gables.



16. Longleat, Wiltshire, about 1570.

prominent, they carved and decorated them. Classical or Italian or Dutch ornament was used here and there; but the general outline of the houses, with their great mullioned windows, was not classical but developed from the medieval. (16.) Houses were still sometimes built around a square

17. Haddon Hall, Derbyshire. Steps to Terrace.

courtyard; but more often the builders sought for a showy front. The plan of the houses often resembled an E—a long front, with two wings and a projecting tower in the middle—or an H, when the wings stood out both forward and backward. The great hall, with the kitchens, pantry, and buttery at one end, and the drawing room at the other was still part of the usual plan; there was also commonly a chapel;

18. Panelling of the time of Henry VIII.

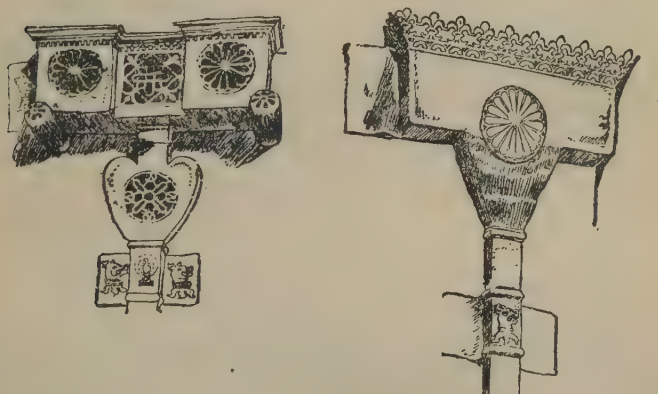
but the Tudor house had, as a rule, more chambers for different purposes than the earlier dwellings; and great houses vied with each other in the length and magnificence of the long gallery which every rich man desired.

Gardens, terraces, approaches, were carefully laid out (17); and architects were employed to make the plan and to sketch the general appearance of the house. But details of ornament and construction were still left to the carpenter (18) and the stone mason. The architect had not become a tyrant; the artisan was still an artist, and much was left to the play of his free fancy. Ceilings, especially, show the greatest variety of invention and decoration. (19.) In the old houses water had been thrown from the roof by projecting spouts—

19. Part of a moulded ceiling at Beckington Abbey, Somerset.

called gargoyles. Now the water was carried down from the gutters by water pipes, which were gracefully designed and decorated in lead-work. (20.)

But the pictures will show the general character of Tudor architecture better than my words. (21, 22, 23, 24, 25.) I will only add that in the sixteenth century red brick became a very fashionable



20. Lead Rain-water Heads, from Haddon Hall, Derbyshire.

material; after having been neglected since the time of the Romans it came in again in the fifteenth century. Wolsey's great palace at Hampton Court was all in brick. Red brick was often picked out here and there with blue; and chimneys were often exquisitely moulded in terra cotta.

The dwellings of the rich were greatly improved; but the dwellings of the poor were also made

21. Moreton Old Hall, Lancashire.

22. Speke Hall, Lancashire.

better; and houses in towns were larger and more durable.

SPORT

At all times the English had been great lovers of field sports. I told you something in my first volume of the King's forests that were kept for his hunting. I could not tell you much about the sport of the people in general, because the books that have come down to us do not tell us much about it. But in the sixteenth century many books were written about sport, and the works of Shakespeare are full of allusions to the art of horsemanship, the hunting of the deer and the qualities of hounds, and the sport of taking birds with falcons and other kinds of hawks. Shakespeare had a capacious mind; it was full of knowledge about all kinds of things in which he was interested, and his interests were wide; it is certain, above all, that in his youth and throughout his life he must have been a keen lover of field sports. The language of sport was very elaborate and complicated; and Shakespeare uses it constantly and always correctly.

23. Old House, Chester.

Our sports to-day are very different from those in which Shakespeare delighted. We play many games with balls—cricket, football, golf, lawn-tennis. Shakespeare may have played tennis—the game that is played in a house built for the purpose—the game of Kings; he had certainly seen it played and heard it talked of. Bowls was a favourite game of his time. Sir Francis Drake finished his game of bowls before he went off to pitch round shot into the ships of the Spanish Armada. Football was played—without any rules—and quoits. But when young men met together in those days they gave themselves rather to wrestling, single-stick, quarter staff, or shooting at a mark—under Henry VIII with bows, later with the firearms called caliver, or hand-gun, or arquebus. These were exercises that fitted men for war, and the authorities encouraged them. You will find little in Shakespeare about any ball-game except tennis and bowls. Chess was much played and cards; but Shakespeare took no interest in them, nor in dicing.

HUNTING AND HOUNDS

Wolves were, probably, extinct in England; the wild boar was rare. Foxes were hunted, but merely that they might be killed. Shakespeare says of the fox:—

> "Do not stand on quillets (scruples) how to slay him:
> Be it by gins, by snares, by subtlety,
> Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how,
> So he be dead."

Modern fox-hunters would call this shameful advice.

24. Gate of Honour, Caius College.

The hare was hunted, both with grey-hounds and with a pack of beagles. The ways of a hunted hare Shakespeare knew well :—

"And when thou hast on foot the purblind hare,
Mark the poor wretch, to overshoot his troubles,
How he outruns the wind and with what care
He cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles:
The many musets (gaps or passages) through the which he goes
Are like a labyrinth to amaze (puzzle) his foes.

"Sometime he runs among a flock of sheep,
To make the cunning hounds mistake their smell,
And sometimes where earth-delving conies keep,
To stop the loud pursuers in their yell,
And sometime sorteth with a herd of deer:
Danger deviseth shifts: wit waits on fear."

But the favourite beast of chase was the deer; the red-deer, whose male was then called "the hart," or the fallow-deer. The deer might be hunted across country—"at force." For the purpose a fine full-grown hart was "singled out," separated from his fellows; "harboured," that is, tracked to the thicket in which he was concealed; "unharboured," that is, driven out—with trusty hounds, held in leash. Then, when he had received his "law"—his fair start—the hounds were uncoupled and put upon his trail. The deer-hounds were descendants of the blood-hound, and retained his marvellous power of scent, though, by careful breeding, they had already become lighter and swifter. The pack was not well-sorted—as modern fox-hunters would think. The hounds were of various sizes. But the hunters of Shakespeare's day found an added pleasure in this. They loved, as all true sportsmen do, the music of the hounds when they are in full cry. The bigger hounds gave a bass

25. Bickling Hall, Norfolk. (1619-20.)
Part of Entrance Front.

note, the smaller sounded the tenor and the alto, and sometimes a couple or two of quite small hounds were added to give the treble. Theseus praises his pack for their music:—

"My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind:
So flewed (so shaped in the jaw and the hanging cheeks) so sanded (marked with splashes of sandy colour) and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-kneed and dew-lapped like Thessalian bulls;
Slow in pursuit, but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tunable
Was never holla'd to, nor cheered with horn. . . ."

To this music the hart took his way, and the horsemen followed. When the hart was tired out, he "took soil" (*i.e.* plunged into water), or turned "at bay." His horns were still able to defend him from the hounds, till the huntsmen came up and cut his throat. The "mort" was sounded upon the horn, and then came the ceremony of "brittling," cutting up the stag. The sportsmen of that day loved every detail of the chase; they would not miss a single stage from harbouring to preparing for the larder. (26.)

At other times the deer would be driven in a fenced park, where hunters were stationed with cross-bows to shoot the quarry as they passed. Thus, in *Henry VI*, the First Keeper says:

"Under this thick-grown brake we'll shroud ourselves;
For through this lawn anon the deer will come,
And in this covert will we make our stand,
Culling the principal of all the deer."

This plan was the best when venison was needed for the household, and it gave opportunity for ladies to see the hunting. Queen Elizabeth saw

26. Queen Elizabeth in the Hunting Field.
From G. Turberville. "The Noble Art of Venerie" (1575).

sixteen stags killed in this manner on one day. Those that were wounded and not killed by the bolts were run down with grey-hounds.

HAWKING

But a sport that was even more beloved than the chase was hawking. There were two kinds of hawks, the long-winged, such as falcons, and the short-winged, such as goshawks. The latter pursued their prey and caught it by speed of wing.

The true falcon was the female of her race; her male was much smaller, and known as a tassel-gentle. The best falcons were taken wild and tamed. They were known as "haggards," and were much superior to the "eyasses" bred in captivity. The wild falcon was "manned," that is, tamed by hunger, until she came to know her master as the giver of food, and by watching, that is, by keeping her awake till fatigue subdued her savage mood. A haggard skilfully manned was more attached to her master than an eyass.

The falcon taken out to fly was hooded, and on her legs she bore light straps, "jesses," with a line attached that could be cast loose, and bells that she might be heard from a distance. She could be flown at duck or partridge, but her most noble prey was the heron. When a heron had been put up, or espied on the wing, the falcon was unhooded and loosed. On seeing her prey, she flew aloft; the heron also soared; but the falcon mounted more quickly, flying in great circles till she was far enough above her bird. Then she was said "to

27. Queen Elizabeth Hawking.
From G. Turberville. "The Book of Faulconrie" (1575).

fly a lofty pitch," "to tower in her pride of place." Seizing her moment she dropped like a stone—"stooped" was the word—seized her victim, if successful in her attack, and bore it to earth. But the heron could show fight, and with his long beak might sometimes transfix his enemy. He had a sporting chance of escape or victory. (27.)

Here and there a modern sportsman still practises falconry; but the sport which Shakespeare loved so much—to which he alludes more often than to any other—has almost passed out of fashion. Now men shoot driven birds by thousands; I dare-say with less pleasure than went with the hawking of a single heron.

HORSES

For all these sports horses were needed to follow the falcon, the hounds, or the beagles. The country was not much enclosed, so there was less leaping, and hounds were not so swift as modern packs. The native breeds of horse were good enough; some of them had a very fair speed and great endurance. In 1616 the first Arabian horse was introduced to this country, and after that time, by careful mating and selection, the English thoroughbred horse grew up. James I and Charles I were fond of horse-racing, and the thoroughbred was bred chiefly for racing. The qualities of speed and endurance desired in the racehorse are also useful for cross-country riding and for cavalry—at any rate, when the breed is crossed with stouter stock.

For war the "great horse" was needed to carry

the heavy armour that still was worn. For this purpose the Flanders and Almayne (German) breeds were most esteemed. They must have closely resembled some of our noble cart-horses, though they were no doubt more speedy. The art of training the "great horse" to move, and pace, and wind, and stop, at the rider's will, was highly developed; it was called "the manage."

Shakespeare was learned in all the wisdom of horsecraft. He gives us the points of a horse:

> "So did this horse excel a common one
> In shape, in courage, colour, pace and bone.
> Round hoofed, shortjointed, fetlocks shag and long,
> Broad breast, full eye, small head and nostril wide,
> High crest, short ears, straight legs and passing strong,
> Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide."

Most of these points are still esteemed, but we should not approve the shaggy fetlock. We should say that such a horse was "hairy at the heels," and class it as cart-horse type. That is because the Arabian has clean fetlocks, and all our best horses for riding and driving have now some Arabian blood.

POPULAR SPORTS

Such were the sports of the gentry and the yeomanry. The sports of the multitude were bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting. The dogs shown in my fourteenth century picture of bear-baiting (Vol. I, p. 182) resemble mastiffs, but the dogs used for baiting bulls must have been much like our modern bull-dog, with his enormous jaws, and his nose set back to enable him to breathe while retaining his hold. Shakespeare puts many

allusions to bear-baiting into the mouths of men whom he hates or despises: Richard III, Slender, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, and Sir Toby Belch. It would seem that he did not think bear-baiting a worthy sport.

The countryside in Shakespeare's time had plenty of amusements; with its fairs, its wakes, its maypoles, its morris-dances (28), and its rustic music

28. Morris Dancers.

—pipe and tabor: that is, pipe and drum. They were not all of them very refined amusements; and the Puritans had some right on their side when they condemned them. But it was a pity to condemn them wholesale; and much innocent joy went out of the countryside when the Puritans got the upper hand. Pleasant things or things that seem pleasant may be wicked; but things are not wicked because they are pleasant and cheerful.

COSTUME

Of the dress of the Middle Ages we can only learn from brasses and other monuments, and from pictures in illuminated manuscripts. But from the time of Henry VIII we have an abundance of portraits, which give us all the knowledge concerning costume that we need desire. Henry VIII employed Flemings and Italians to paint portraits for the Court, but the greatest of the artists in his pay was Hans Holbein the younger, of Augsburg, who settled in England in 1526 and lived there till his death in 1543. This Holbein was a great painter in a matter of fact style. Antony More, of Utrecht, painted for Queen Mary. There were good miniaturists under Elizabeth, and many Dutchmen and Italians were painting in England during her reign, though few had much merit, and no English school of portrait painters arose till later.

Under Henry VIII the elaborate head-dresses for women were given up, and a diamond shaped head-dress concealed the hair. The clothing of women was close fitting and comparatively simple. The men wore a kind of frock coat, short in youth, longer in middle age. The elder men wore over their frock a gown with loose sleeves. Men of wealth were very extravagant in the use of brocade, and tissue of silver and gold, jewels, and gold chains. The legs were covered with long stockings. The shoes were square in the toe.

Under Elizabeth the high ruff came in from Spain, both for men and women. The ruff was at

first supported with wires, until starch was invented to make it stiff. The women's dress became very artificial; the body being encased in a long stiff bodice ending in a point; and the skirt was puffed out with hoops about the hips to form a sort of table (the farthingale). The Queen set the fashion of elaborate quilting, starching, embroidery, and ornament of precious stones. She wore her hair frizzed and crisped, and when it faded adopted an auburn wig. The women of the Court took drugs and unwholesome food to procure for themselves such a colourless complexion as nature had given to their Queen.

Male dress was very costly and fanciful. The Englishman was said to change his fashion every year, and to take his several garments from every country of Europe. Trunk hose were introduced —wide breeches about the hips over the long stockings. These breeches were stuffed and padded till stooping became almost impossible. Against these follies of dress the protest of the Puritans was not unreasonable; though the distinctive dress of the Puritan belongs rather to the next century.

CONCLUSION

In the Tudor times the destruction of the monasteries and the partial enclosure of the country brought many changes into the countryside. Much distress came from enclosures for sheep and from the rise of prices; but the country was so prosperous that these evils were not so

much felt as they might otherwise have been. The prosperity of the rich is proved by the mansions that they built; and the dwellings of the poor were also in many places improved. Sport was much developed, and in its different forms was popular then as now with rich and poor alike. Whether Shakespeare writes about Rome, or Verona, or Ancient Britain, or Bohemia, his people are always Englishmen in their hearts and tastes; and you can learn more about Tudor England from Shakespeare than from this or any other history, and with greater pleasure.

FOR REFERENCE.

HENRY VIII AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. *Gasquet.* John Hodges.

THE DIARY OF MASTER WILLIAM SILENCE. (Shakespeare and Sport.) *Madden.* Longmans.

CHAPTER V

HOW SHAKESPEARE CAME TO BE

GREAT literature springs from the people. Many must try their hands at poetry or plays in order that others may learn from their experience. Many must fail that one or two may succeed. The playwright needs an audience; the greatest writer writes in vain unless there are men who wish to read his works. The works that please the time must be those in which the feelings and life of the people are set forth in words. If you know the books and plays of a time you know also that the men and women of that time loved those books; they were written for them; and so you get a look into the hearts of folk long dead. The great man by his genius brings to perfection the fashion and manner of his time; he gives his people something of the kind that it desires but something better than it could imagine. Such were Homer, Dante, Shakespeare.

Poetry, stories, plays, those are the literature of the people. History, unless it be inspired with a dash of poetry and romance, will never delight the many. Philosophy is always for the few. Every age, every people, has some kind of poetry, some kind of stories or ballads, that it loves. Now and then a people gives us poetry, romance, or drama,

that has eternal beauty and enriches the permanent store of the human race. No one knows why this should happen. A nation that finds great things to say has often gone through some great trial and come out triumphant. Yet nations have often done great national deeds and found nothing to say afterwards that was worth hearing. The great age of German literature was before, not after, the establishment of the German Empire.

The days of Elizabeth produced the greatest of all poets. Other poets are more perfect in form, but none so rich, so wise, so lofty, so human, so large, as Shakespeare. The Germans claim Shakespeare as their own, as a Teutonic poet. There they make a mistake. The English people has a large blend of German blood, but it is not German; it has absorbed French culture, it has considerable Celtic, Iberian, and Scandinavian mixture; above all, in a thousand years it has grown to be itself.

The fancy, the grace, of our best writers are not Teutonic. Even the language of Shakespeare is not only Teutonic. He would have been much poorer if he had been confined to Teutonic words Take this famous passage from *The Tempest*:—

> "These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits and
> Are melted into air, into thin air:
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep."

The first two lines and the last two and a half have a different flavour from the rest: only four words in these lines are not Anglo-Saxon. But the middle five lines, where the poet's music sounds more rich and full, have no less than fifteen French or Latin words. It is as if the poet had two instruments on which he could play at will; or blend them both if he desired. Shakespeare's language is not German, not Teutonic; it is English. And Shakespeare himself is English, through and through.

I suppose Shakespeare might have been born in the fifteenth century. If he had lived then, what would he have found to do; how would his genius have found a voice? One is forced to admit that it might have found no voice at all. But, being born when he was, he came at the top of the wave, and had such a chance as no Englishman had had before him. I will explain this to you. The whole literary history of the English people during the sixteenth century, and, indeed, the whole literary history of Europe, comes into the story.

THE RENAISSANCE OF GREEK AND LATIN LEARNING

From about the middle of the fourteenth century the Italians had been taking a new interest, first in Latin authors, previously neglected, and then in Greek authors, newly discovered. You may not be able to understand what joy the men of that time got from the new poets, orators, historians. Some day, perhaps, you will understand it, if you get over the troublesome business of learning the languages and can read them for yourself. Yet

even then, you will not feel the same joy as the students of the fourteenth and fifteenth century felt; for you have plenty of books worth reading and they had few; all wisdom was, for them, in the manuscripts of Greek and Latin writers. The new sources of wisdom led to a new birth of learning, which we call the Renaissance. The new learning was concerned with man, his thoughts and his deeds; whereas the learning of the clergy had been chiefly religious, about divine things. So the new learning was called humane letters, and its professors were called humanists.

The new learning flourished for a long time in Italy before it crossed the Alps to France; and longer still before it crossed the Channel to England. But early in the reign of Henry VIII it began to take hold over here. Erasmus, of Rotterdam, was teaching Greek at Cambridge from 1511-13. The new study met a good deal of hostility from the old-fashioned people. There was a war of words between the Grecians and the Trojans—as those were called who disliked and feared the new Greek. But such men as Grocyn, Colet, Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas More, won the day; I mention their names because we owe to them our advance in wisdom and learning during the past four centuries. We may be able to do without Greek now, though some of us would be sorry to miss it; but without Greek we could not have attained such wisdom as we now possess.

All through the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI men were absorbing the new learning.

Laymen, sportsmen, men of the world, women, all claimed their share in it. It spread from those who had learning to the unlearned. The education of the English was progressing. The monastery schools were gone; the new grammar schools were poor, and weak, and few at first, though many of them have since risen to greatness. But when men want learning they will get it for themselves, without much help from the schoolmaster. They did so in the sixteenth century.

THE REFORMATION

In England the Reformation and the Renaissance came at the same time. Now, whatever else of good or bad the Reformation may have done, it set men's minds free. It called on every man to think for himself, and thinking men rejoiced in their new freedom. They were free to drink in the new learning; and part of the new learning was the Bible, translated by Tyndale and Coverdale 1520-35, revised and issued to churches in 1539. This was another new world to travel in; and those who felt deeply and seriously what the Bible had to tell them were often changed in their characters and opinions. Some of them became Puritans; of them I shall tell you later. But no book became so well known to Englishmen in general as the Bible; and the language of Coverdale, and afterwards of the Authorised version, had a great effect upon our manner of speaking and writing. The Puritans filled their speech and writing with texts; but all writers had some echo of the Bible language

in their style, at any rate in the seventeenth century.

It is a strange thing, but certain, that Shakespeare, who knew most things, does not show intimate knowledge of the Bible. His language has no sign of it; he very seldom alludes to persons of the Bible. No man knows what his religion was. He certainly was not a Puritan, in any sense of the word. He seems to speak with sympathy of the old religion and its ways. But he makes King John speak with contempt of the Pope.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In the sixteenth century Englishmen travelled much in Italy. I have told you that they brought back Italian fashions of building. They also brought back Italian fashions of dress. Italian poets and Italian stories were read and imitated. Italian romances were passed from hand to hand. You will remember that the scenes of Shakespeare's plays are often laid in Italy.

French writers were also studied, and French stories were translated and read. So that the greedy minds of Englishmen had Latin, Greek, Italian, French, to feed upon. The men of the age of Elizabeth were full of joy in their new freedom of mind; they were glad to be alive, up and doing, reading, and learning. But everything that they learnt they made English; they did not copy the works of other men in slavish fashion.

TRANSLATIONS

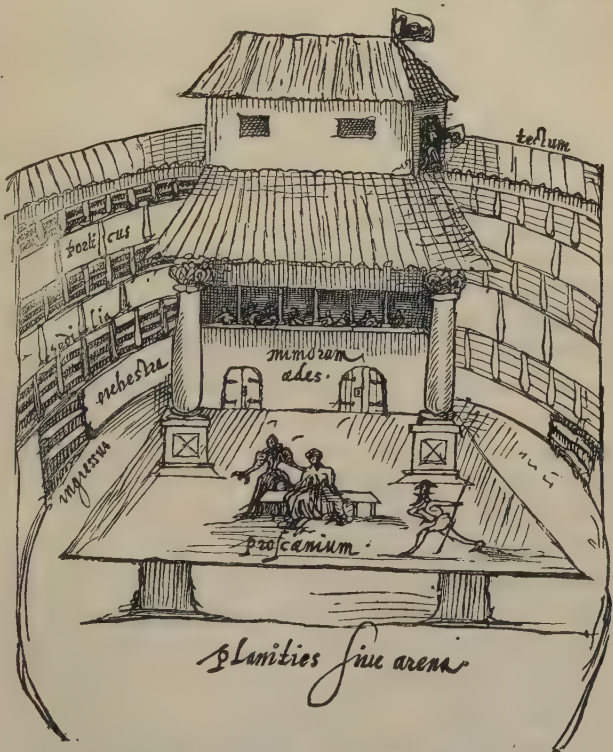
Shakespeare may have had "small Latin and less

Greek;" he must have known some French, he may have known some Italian; yet, had he known nothing of these foreign tongues, the learning of them was in the air. He could pick it up wherever men were found. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign translators were at work. The people wanted foreign books; there was a demand for translations among the unlearned. If Shakespeare wanted to read Ovid, and Virgil, and Homer, he could read them in English, and many other classical works beside. One translation we know that he did read—North's translation of the Lives of Plutarch—for he uses its very words in *Julius Cæsar*. Some of the translators of Elizabeth's day are famous; for they studied to give the full spirit and meaning of the great authors, and did not follow their turns of speech, like pedants. The translator put himself into the work as well as the author's self.

Into this world, eager for learning and new adventure and stirring life, Shakespeare was born, in 1564, at Stratford-on-Avon. Of his early life we know little; he may have been a poacher, a butcher, a lawyer, a schoolmaster—who can tell? But we know that he learnt all the country had to teach him —of men, and beasts, and plants. Then he drifted to London and became a player. We need not trouble how he got his education; Shakespeares cannot be prevented from learning what there is to learn; and learning of every kind was in the air.

THE DRAMA

When Shakespeare went to London about 1586,



29. The Interior of the "Swan Theatre."

three new classes of stage-plays were already being written and acted. For hundreds of years the English people had been content with the mystery, miracle, and morality plays, described in my last volume. Now men had outgrown them; moreover, the bishops discouraged them; they were, in fact, somewhat irreverent. But Shakespeare had seen mysteries; when he speaks of "out-Heroding Herod" he refers to the violent and bombastic language given to Herod in the mystery plays. No doubt the mysteries and other early plays had given men a taste for play-acting.

Now men studied Latin writers; they had got from Plautus the idea of a comedy; and from Seneca the idea of a tragedy. They got nothing but the idea; they did not copy either Seneca or Plautus closely. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* is based upon a play of Plautus; but the play of Shakespeare and the play of Plautus are very different.

The tragedies are very fierce, and gloomy, and bloody; the comedies often coarse and rough; and a new kind of plays was invented—unknown to Seneca or Plautus—the representation of some time in our English history, such as the *Contention of York and Lancaster*. These were called histories. Comic scenes were often introduced into tragedies and histories; it was found that the people liked them; and the plays were made for the people.

The new plays were written in verse, blank verse or rhymed. There were a great many actors, and a great many scenes. Shakespeare's people liked to be carried to many and far countries in their

30. The Stage of the Red Bull Playhouse, Clerkenwell.

fancy. It was easy to shift a scene; it was only necessary to put up a notice, "A sea-coast in Bohemia"; and the audience required no scene-painting. Fine dresses were no doubt provided for the actors. The parts of women were taken by boys. The theatre was perhaps originally the court of an inn or of some other convenient house. Around the inner walls were galleries whence spectators could look on; the stage was at the end of the oblong court with dressing rooms behind; the "groundlings" stood in the "pit" under the sky; favoured spectators might have seats on the side or at the back of the stage. But early in Elizabeth's reign theatres began to be built on a similar plan. The city authorities disliked these gatherings of the rabble, and made rules against the players. So the players set up their houses outside the city; at Shoreditch or in Southwark. (29, 30.)

Each play was written for some company of actors. The copy was the property of the actors. Scholars of Oxford and Cambridge found it worth their time and trouble to write plays. Thus Shakespeare had predecessors, men of education, who had set the fashion. Of these Marlowe was the greatest, but he died at thirty-one; born in the same year as Shakespeare, he became known earlier.

Shakespeare began, no doubt, by making himself useful to the players. Then he was allowed to act a part, and thus learnt all about the stage of his time; what the people liked, what could be done and what could not be done on the stage. Then he was allowed to take plays belonging to his com-

pany, and improve them—"write them up," as we should say. Thus a number of plays have come down to us with Shakespeare's name of which he wrote only a part; and there are others attributed to him of which he may have written nothing at all. But after he had proved his skill by touching up the work of other men, his actors knew his worth and began to take plays that were entirely his own work; and for twenty years he had a ready market for his tragedies, comedies, and histories—1591-1611. He did not print and publish his own plays; some were printed during his life without his permission; and those we have were collected by his friends after his death.

It was a mixed audience that he had in Southwark; in the galleries or on the stage—gentlemen, students, lawyers, merchants; in the pit—the London mob of journeymen, apprentices, and countrymen on a visit to town; a thoroughly popular audience—a little piece of the whole people. He gave them what they wanted, and he gave them what he loved; and their tastes agreed. He did not spare them long and learned words, nor slang, nor poetry, nor philosophy, nor long speeches. It was a people that loved blood and thunder, and tiresome playing upon words, and horseplay; but he found it was a people that loved also romance, and poetry, and the sporting of youths and maidens, of elves and fairies, wit and humour, and wisdom. You cannot know what the people of England was like, that smashed the Armada and robbed the Spaniards, unless you bear in mind that Shakespeare was the Englishmen's

poet and gave them what they most desired. He took them from their surroundings—often violent and sordid—and put them in a land of fancy where they would be.

There were other poets—many—in the days of Shakespeare—Spenser, and Drayton, and Sidney (31); there were other play-wrights—Marlowe, and Webster, and Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher; from all of these no doubt Shakespeare learned something, but all of them would have been incomplete without him. He put the cap upon their work.

31. Sir Philip Sidney
After the miniature by Isaac Oliver in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.

During this age English prose also was being practised and improved; though Sir Thomas More thought it beneath his dignity to write in English, Bacon, no less in learning, wrote his *Essays* and his *Henry VII* in the vulgar tongue, and did much to fix the pattern for our English writing. With Raleigh and Hooker and the great translators many admirable examples were set; the English Prayer Book had already shown the language of a people that loved majesty, dignity, simplicity, and solemn music in its worship. With the Authorised Version of 1611 our language may be said to come

of full age; though many ways of using it, some good and some bad, had not then been invented.

Great men are like wonders; they come we know not how or why. But part at least of their greatness lies in this—that they suit the time and the people in which they are born. Had not Shakespeare suited his age and people, had not his own people loved him, and praised him, and encouraged him, it is ten to one that the Germans would never have heard his name.

The Vice-Chancellor's Cup, Cambridge; 1592

PART II

THE KING, THE PURITANS, AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER VI

THE STEWARTS AND THE PEOPLE

The Tudors allowed a good deal of liberty to their people; but they expected to be obeyed, and they did not trouble very much about the law. Henry VII set up the court of Star Chamber, a committee of the Privy Council, which sat in judgement on all kinds of offenders—great and small—whom the ordinary law did not reach. It imposed very heavy fines on rich people, and punished poorer men by imprisonment, by flogging, or by cutting off their ears. Sometimes the culprit was condemned to stand in the public pillory for a number of hours. The pillory was a wooden frame which kept a man's head and hands firmly fixed. While he stood in this position the crowd would gaze upon him in scorn and pelt him perhaps with rotten eggs. It would be rare that the mob showed the sufferer any pity or sympathy. (32.)

The Common Law did not use torture to compel evidence or confession; however, in the time of the

Tudors and Stewarts, the Privy Council and the Star Chamber sometimes inflicted torture when it was desired to make the accused confess, or give up the names of those who had helped him in his action, and none could forbid them. There was no strong feeling against torture, but it was far less used in England than in Germany.

32. Titus Oates in the Pillory.
From an Old Print.

Queen Elizabeth set up the Court of High Commission to try those who conducted worship otherwise than in the manner laid down by law. Ministers of religion who refused to use the ceremonies ordained by law were punished in this court, and those who held meetings of their own for prayer and teaching. This also was a new court, established by the Queen's will, and controlled by no ancient custom. But the people was then willing—on the whole—that the Queen should make rules for worship and enforce them; and those who did not like the ways of this court had either to submit or go abroad.

When a Tudor King or Queen wanted a new law, he or she went to Parliament, which generally gave what was wanted. If the sovereign thought he could rely on his own power, he acted without a law; and if anyone appealed to the Judges the King's lawyers claimed the royal prerogative, using a vague expression which meant the customary power of the King. It was known that the King could do certain things without quoting any law, but there were many other things that the King might do if no one cared enough or was strong enough to resist him. The Tudors were unwilling to admit any limits to their prerogative, and they were clever enough to provoke no serious resistance.

The people endured these courts under the Tudors: it overthrew them when Charles was King. There is a proverb that one man may steal a horse but another may not even look over the hedge.

But whether Tudors or Stewarts sat upon the throne the people was alike unwilling to pay new taxes. One man or another might be forced to pay money contrary to law, and the people might not resent it. But when the King asked Parliament for new taxes, Parliament was apt to ask the King for something in return, something that it was inconvenient for the King to grant. Either way the people seemed to benefit; it got a new concession, or it avoided paying money. The notion that the King wanted an army unless he was on the point of war was not in their minds; that he should even

33. James I. and Anne of Denmark.

want a navy was a new idea; and merchant ships were still used for war, as well as ships built for the King.

Henry VIII robbed the monasteries, partly, at least, because he wanted money and did not care to ask Parliament for new taxes. He took benevolences—that is, forced loans—which were forbidden by law, because he thought that single persons would not resist, and Parliament could only protest. Elizabeth is often abused for being stingy, and certainly she treated the men who fought for her against the Armada very shabbily, and hardly allowed them enough powder and shot and food to enable them to do their work. But neither Elizabeth nor any of the Tudors had enough money coming in regularly for ordinary expenses—still less for waging war. So they managed as best they could, and avoided imposing new taxes. They understood the people of England, and kept out of grave quarrels.

James Stewart (33), on the other hand, was a Scotchman, and naturally did not understand the people of England. The position of a King in Scotland was not enviable; the nobles set him at naught, and the Scottish kirk defied him. Scotland was a poor country, and its King was poor. James knew that England was rich, and that Henry VIII and Elizabeth had done very much what they pleased. He thought he would have his own way as they did. He was a clever man, well-read for his time and for a king, and he had a great belief in his cleverness. But he had no practical wisdom, and

did not know how to manage men. He expected to be rich, and lavished money on his favourites. But he soon found he was poor, and many of his difficulties came from want of money. His cleverness led him to stretch his royal powers in various ways, which may not have been illegal, but caused annoyance and distrust. His least unpopular way of raising money was by creating a new rank of Baronets, and selling baronetcies for payment.

CUSTOMS AND MONOPOLIES

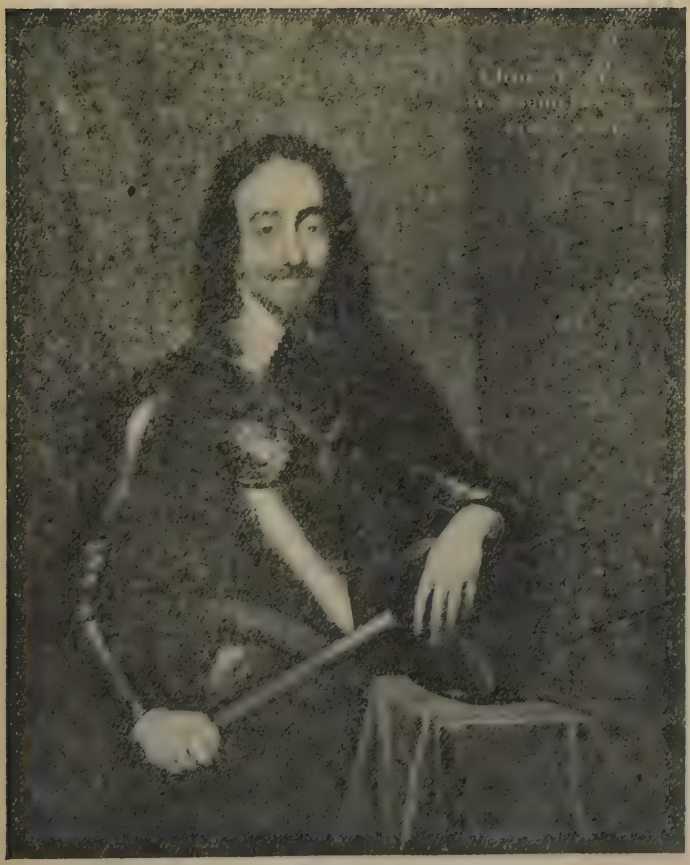
The King had the right to take customs on goods imported, and also on certain goods when exported. James issued a new Book of Rates for taxes at the ports; and, although his Judges declared that he was within his right, Parliament protested, and the King had a standing quarrel with them about these taxes. The King had the right to regulate trade; and Elizabeth, in the exercise of that right, granted to certain people monopolies—that is, the sole right to sell certain goods by retail. Elizabeth's Parliament seldom questioned her action, but at the end of her reign they attacked the monopolies, and the Queen promised to put the matter right. She did not do so. James found monopolies in force, and used them to get money for himself and for his favourites. After a long quarrel Parliament, in 1624, forced the King to accept a law which forbade the grant of monopolies to individuals, except for new inventions—what we now call patents, because these rights are granted by the King's letters patent, that is, open letters,

addressed to all who may be concerned. But Charles I, still in want of money, got round the law by giving monopolies to Corporations—that is to say, privileged Companies—and so the quarrel continued.

JAMES AND HIS PARLIAMENT

James had a project for the union of his two kingdoms—Scotland and England—but his Parliament, already displeased, would not accept it. He had another very promising plan—to abandon all his feudal dues and rights for a fixed income of two hundred thousand pounds a year. The King still had the right over certain estates, some of which were very large, to take money from the heirs when they came into their property, and to marry the heirs if under age or the heiresses to whom he chose. It might have been worth while for the landlords to make this bargain, but Parliament was out of temper, and refused. The reform was put off until the reign of Charles II.

Thus nothing prospered with James. He could do nothing with his Parliament, and his own ways of getting money irritated the traders, and the whole people. The people wanted to help the son-in-law of James, the Elector Palatine—a Protestant who had been driven out of his land in the Thirty Years' War of Germany. But James was disinclined to fight, and thought he could help the Elector best by clever bargaining. He understood his people so ill that he actually desired to marry his son Charles to a Spanish princess—in the hope



34. Charles I.

that the King of Spain would have the Elector Palatine restored to his dominions—but this project fell through. The people hated Spain, and it is improbable that a Spanish Queen would have been accepted.

THE KINGS AND THE JUDGES

Charles (34) fared even worse, and after trying two or three Parliaments he determined to govern without any. He raised money by imposing fines on rich men for all sorts of offences—for instance, offences against the forest laws, which had been long neglected. His lawyers discovered in old books that money had been raised by the King from the counties to equip fleets, so he imposed Ship-money on the counties. Ships were certainly needed against the Moorish pirates of North Africa who robbed and enslaved Englishmen, even in the Channel. John Hampden refused to pay; but the Judges declared that the King was in the right.

I do not say that the Judges were not correct in their decision; it was very difficult then to say what the King might or might not do without breaking the law; but the people thought that Ship-money was against Magna Charta, and Hampden may have been right. And the Judges were too much under the power of the King. They were appointed by the King and could be dismissed by the King; they were not independent to do justice between the King and the people or the citizens. The Judges were not made independent until the reign of William III, when it was settled

that they could not be dismissed except for some offence; and after that both Houses of Parliament had to agree to ask that a Judge should be removed before he could be turned out. Thus, nowadays, if a tax-payer appeals to the Judges against some payment demanded of him, the Judges are not afraid of the displeasure of the King or his Government, and can do justice according to law.

All these quarrels were about money, or some attack on the rights of individuals, as, for instance, when Charles' Parliament objected to billeting—that is, they declared that the King had no right to put his soldiers into private houses. Nowadays billeting is done under the law, and payments are fixed; many have soldiers in their houses while I write this, and are glad to have them, either for the money, or because they are willing to do something for the country. But it makes a great difference whether a thing is done by law, agreed to by Parliament in the name of the people, or without any consent of the people. It is possible, however, that the Stewarts would have got over all their difficulties and learnt how to live at peace with their people if it had not been for questions of religion.

THE BIBLE AND THE PURITANS

Henry VIII destroyed the power of the Pope in this country and set up the authority of the King in its place. Under Edward VI the power of the King was used to strengthen the Protestants; under Mary to restore the Catholic religion. Elizabeth created an English Church, with bishops, articles of

faith, and ceremonies ordained by law. But by that time Protestant ideas had got great hold on the people; and many men had in their minds the idea that all the practices of the old Church were a damnable superstition, and that the Bible was the only safe guide.

Many read the Bible, and when James issued our beautiful Authorised Version, Bible-reading became still more common. Now you must remember that books were not common in those days, and many of those that were published were written in very learned fashion and not attractive to ordinary folk. The Bible is a very wonderful book. It is a whole library bound in one cover. There is law, history, poetry, prophecy, philosophy, and two complete systems of religion—the Jewish religion, set forth in the Old Testament, and the Christian religion in the New Testament. Those who loved reading found the Bible interesting in itself, and doubly interesting as God's Word. The serious folk, who wished to learn from the Bible God's will, did not distinguish between the Old Testament which was written for the Jews and the New Testament written for the followers of Christ. They regarded the whole Bible as equally binding on Christians.

Everyone could find something in the Bible to suit him. The blood-thirsty and the violent could find in the books of Joshua and Judges the slaughter of the Philistines and the great killings of Gideon. From Samuel they could learn to hew their enemies in pieces before the Lord. Those who were inclined to rebel against their King could point to David,

and to the treatment of Ahab and Jezebel by Jehu. Those who wished to preach obedience could quote the New Testament: "Fear God: honour the King."

Serious men looked in the Bible for doctrine—what they should believe; for rules of conduct—what they must do and leave undone; for principles of government—how Christ's Church should be ruled; and for ceremonies—how God's service should be conducted. As each man—in the Protestant way of thinking—was fit and bound to think for himself and to interpret God's Word as best he could, those who sought the truth from the Bible came to very different conclusions on some of these points. But all those who earnestly desired to know the truth and follow it—not merely to accept the custom and the faith as it had been handed down—were alike in this; that they wished for purity of religion and worship. And so all alike were called Puritans, though many ways of thinking were included under this term.

DOCTRINE

The Catholics thought good works—deeds of charity and self-sacrifice—very important as a means of salvation. Luther (3) thought that faith in Christ was alone important. Many of the Puritans followed the teaching of Calvin (4), who taught that some men were chosen by God from the beginning for salvation, and others for damnation. This doctrine is called predestination, and is apt to make those who believe themselves to be chosen arrogant and self-righteous, and contemptuous of those whom they

think to be lost. But many Puritans believed that Christ died for all alike, and that every man had it in his own power to work out his own salvation. The Church of England in the Articles inclines to the view of Calvin, but does not condemn the other belief. In the reign of Elizabeth and the early reign of James the doctrine of Calvin prevailed, but later the Church inclined more to the view of Arminius, a Dutch teacher. Arminius denied that all men were predestined to salvation or damnation, but the Churchmen welcomed especially his teaching that the lay-power—that was, in England, the King—should settle questions of faith. Thus the Church of England is sometimes called Arminian. But questions of doctrine were not of great importance in England. The questions that divided the Puritans from the Church were rather questions of behaviour, Church government, and ceremony.

SUPERSTITION AND WITCHES

The study of the Bible did not drive out superstition. Men read in the Bible the story of the witch of Endor and trembled. They read in Exodus the words: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live. They read in the Revelation of St. John that sorcerers should have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. At every time in the world's history, and in all countries of which we have any knowledge, there have been men and women who have believed, or were anxious to persuade others, that by magic and witchcraft they could injure their enemies and obtain their desires.

And the neighbours looked upon such folk with fear and often with hatred.

In the Middle Ages there were some who believed that by melting a waxen image of an enemy before a fire, or piercing it with needles, they could cause that enemy to fall sick or die. There were some who promised by charms and magical draughts to draw from one person to another the love of the person desired. There were some who thought by words of power and strange ceremonies to command the services of spirits, as Aladdin commanded the genie by virtue of his lamp. There were many who believed that they could foretell the future by the stars; some believe this to-day. There were some who thought it was possible to turn base metal into gold, and to discover a drug that would give eternal youth and life. These practices were mixed up with the compounding of drugs and of poisons; the same man or woman was not infrequently a healer, and a poisoner, and a magician.

The belief in magic was very old, and was encouraged by the spirit of research into natural science which was spreading with the increase of learning. Men were finding out real secrets of nature; they had no notion of any limit to man's power over matter, and thought that everything was possible. Many men of real learning were led astray by these fancies; the public shared their belief that uncanny and dreadful things could be accomplished by the wise; and every man who gave his time to the study of science was looked upon with a certain fear.

In the Middle Ages the belief that spirits could be commanded by magic took a new and terrible form. It was thought that a man or woman could sell his or her soul to the devil for power and wealth in this life. All sorts of stories grew up. Witches were thought to meet the devil in unholy revels by night, riding to the assembly upon broomsticks through the air. They were thought to be able to change themselves into the form of animals, and to be visited by demons in the form of cats or dogs. The demon was supposed to take a horrid pleasure in sucking their blood, and the spot where he was accustomed to suck was thought to become insensible to pain. Witches were tested by pin-pricks to discover such an insensible spot.

We believe none of these things now; though perhaps here and there in remote and ignorant neighbourhoods some old woman may still be feared as a witch. But in the time when the Bible was working so powerfully in the minds of Englishmen and Scotchmen—the time from about 1580-1660—the belief in and fear of witches took a dreadful hold upon the nation. Laws were passed for the discovery of witches and their punishment by burning. Thousands—chiefly women—were accused, and thousands were burnt. Much of the evidence was malicious; all of it, we must believe, was untrue; if these poor folk had made an agreement with the devil they got neither wealth nor power by it. As a rule, they were miserable outcasts, old and sometimes half-witted. But the strangest confessions were made by the victims;

there was madness and delusion both in the accusers and in the accused.

This superstition was most common in the most backward parts, such as Lancashire and Essex; but the whole country was more or less affected. About 1645 a certain Matthew Hopkins was at the top of his fame as witch-finder. He travelled the country and did many innocent folk to death. For the trial of witches an old ordeal was revived. The right thumb was fastened to the left big toe, and the right big toe to the left thumb. The accused was then thrown into water; to sink was a proof of innocence but might result in drowning; to float was a proof of guilt. It was dangerous even to express a doubt that witchcraft was possible; the Bible said that there were witches, and that was enough. But the words of the Bible might well mean that any one who professed to be a witch was so dangerous to the peace of the neighbours that death should be inflicted. Most of these people were innocent of any such desire of inspiring terror, and if any confessed it was only after they had been driven out of their senses by fear of their accusers. Hopkins himself at last suffered the fate he had brought to so many others. The last witch was burnt in Scotland in 1722, but after 1660 the terror abated, and men came gradually to their right minds. It is good to read and believe the Bible, but it is also good to exercise a little common sense and humanity. What happened with the witch of Endor is a mystery which neither you nor I nor any one else can

understand. The less we trouble our minds about it the better.

CONDUCT

I am not sure that people were more wicked in England after the Reformation than before. But they certainly were not much better. Neither Henry VIII nor Elizabeth set a very good example, and the Court of James was extravagant, drunken, and dissolute. Charles I, however, was excellent in his private life. The old Church, by confession and penance, exercised a restraining influence on the people in general which now was lost. The bad were more openly bad after the Reformation, and the indifferent had no need to fear reproof. Some of the amusements of the people were cruel and degrading—as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting. Others, such as may-poles, dancing, and the theatre, were innocent and excellent in themselves, but the plays were apt to be coarse, and the merry-makers did not always behave very well. Drunkenness had always been a fault of the English, and when they were at their play good fellowship and excitement encouraged drinking.

The serious and worthy few were anxious to be good, and they read in their Bible of the Hell that awaited the wicked. They were anxious to save their own souls, and to save the souls of their neighbours. Therefore they avoided and condemned all amusements, since temptation went with merry-making. They condemned all vanities, such as beautiful clothing and carefully arranged

hair. They dressed themselves in dark clothes, of a stiff cut; they rejected the fashions of the day—the laces and the ruffs—and wore a plain, turn-down collar. Some of them cut their hair short and were called round-heads. They were apt to speak in an affected manner through their noses, and to quote the Bible continually. When the Puritans became powerful, some no doubt did these things out of hypocrisy. But at the beginning such conduct was honest resistance to the common looseness of living. Unfortunately, as men will do, they went too far; and, in their desire to avoid sin, they blotted out of life its gaiety, its merriment, its beauty, and its innocent pleasures.

They read their Bible very literally. They found in it that idolatry was a deadly sin. Therefore, they thought that all graven images were sinful, and in the days of the Puritan war they broke the harmless statues that adorned the churches and cathedrals, they destroyed the glorious windows, and white-washed the pictures on the walls of the churches. They often destroyed the church bells—perhaps they thought the ringing of bells superstitious, because some believed that the bells drove away devils.

They found in the Bible rules for the observance of a day called the Sabbath. This was the seventh day of the Jewish week. Sunday is the first day of the week and is observed as a holy day because Christ rose from the dead on the first day of the week. It has nothing to do with the Sabbath. However, Sunday was often called the Sabbath,

and the Puritans imagined that the Catholic Church had fallen into a godless habit of Sabbath-breaking. The old Sunday had been a day of sport and pleasure. Men went to mass in the morning, and afterwards danced and played games and practised with the bow. The Puritans condemned all this, and wished to make Sunday as much like the Jewish Sabbath as they could. A Member of Parliament who defended Sunday amusements in the reign of King James was expelled by a vote of the House for his scandalous opinions. It is, of course, a good thing that there should be a day of rest every week, and all Christians should desire the reverent observance of Sunday; though we need not all agree as to what may or may not be done on Sunday. But the Puritans made a strange mistake when they took the Fourth Commandment as ruling our Christian Sunday. Be that as it may, when James approved and Charles enjoined sports on Sunday, they were going dead against the feeling of their Puritan subjects.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT

The kings of England maintained the government of the Church by Bishops. They claimed to be heads of the Church, and the Bishops were to them what generals are to a Commander-in-Chief. Bishops were needed to see that orders were carried out. James I said: "No Bishop no King." He could not imagine a country in which religion was free. He thought that if religion was

free the King's authority would be gone. And he thought that religion could not be governed without the help of Bishops. He restored some sort of Bishops to the Kirk of Scotland, where they had been abolished by Knox and robbed by the nobles; but they had no wealth and little authority.

Now the Bible says little about bishops. It does not say much more about elders, presbyters as they are called in Greek, but the Calvinists fixed on this word and applied it to their system of government, which was called Presbyterianism. For the Calvinists, as much as James, thought that religion should be governed, but instead of being governed by the King and the Bishops they held it should be governed by elected persons. Each locality was to have its Church, and each Church was to be governed by chosen elders—Presbyters. All the Churches together were to be governed by Synods and Assemblies, which would decide questions of doctrine, discipline, and order of worship. John Knox (d. 1572) and Andrew Melville (d. 1622) worked out this system for Scotland. Calvin's plan was invented for a single town, the town of Geneva; it had to be made more complicated for a whole country. You need not trouble about the details, but you should know this. The whole country of Scotland was to be a Church—the Kirk of Scotland; the Church was to be strictly governed, not by priests, but chiefly by elected laymen. The King was to have as little as possible to do with its government. When the war was being fought between King and Parliament in England, the

English Parliament was Presbyterian, and a Presbyterian system was nearly established in England.

Toleration means that every man may think as he likes about religion, and worship or not worship, as he pleases. We have now almost complete toleration in England; though there are laws against blasphemy, because it is not right that one man should insult what other men think holy. In the time of the Stewarts the Church was more tolerant than Presbyterianism. As long as a man did not preach or write, his private opinions were not interfered with. Men were supposed to go to Church, and if they did not they were liable to fines, but the fines were often not enforced. The main thing forbidden was to hold worship and meetings for prayer and praise otherwise than in the way of the Church of England, which was settled by law.

INDEPENDENTS

But from the time of Elizabeth a body of Puritans was forming who asked for complete liberty for themselves and were willing to give it to others, excluding Catholics. (The exclusion of Catholics was due to prejudice, but it might be justified because Catholics desired to impose their faith on all.) These lovers of free worship came to be known by the name of Independents. They claimed that any body of believers, thinking alike, should be permitted to form themselves into a congregation and meet where they pleased to pray, and preach, and praise God, in such manner as they

chose. Cromwell was an Independent, and the men of his army were for the most part Independents, and the quarrel between the Long Parliament and Cromwell was largely a quarrel between Presbyterians and Independents. But this liberty to form one's own religious society, and to worship as one pleased, was just the very thing that Elizabeth, and James, and Charles, and Laud, were not willing to grant; and so the Independents were always in dispute with government until Cromwell got the upper hand. Many of them, from the time of Elizabeth, went to Holland, where much greater liberty was allowed; and some—the Pilgrim fathers—went from Holland to the New World, where they founded the new city of Plymouth. But in America the Independents did not always get the freedom they desired, so many of them removed to Rhode Island, where liberty was almost complete.

The ideal of one Church, the union of all Christian men, is a beautiful ideal, and we must not blame those who strove to keep the Church of England as one Church. But the freedom of personal belief and worship is also a good thing; and in the fight of the Puritans and the Church of England there was good on both sides.

CEREMONIES

Now the ceremonies of the Old Church are and were a very beautiful thing. The Church itself is part of the ceremony, with its east end for the priests and the choir, and its nave for the worshippers, with the dim light shed from the glowing

windows, and the pealing of the great organ. The rich vestments of the priests, their slow movements, the solemn chants, the floating incense, and the silvery bell that rings at the supreme moment of the Elevation of the Host, all bring into the mind of the worshipper a sense of awe, wonder, and religious joy. Men were accustomed to these things and loved them, perhaps without knowing that they were beautiful. Henry VIII had no notion of changing all this, and Elizabeth desired to retain most of it. Moreover, if there was to be one Church, it seemed necessary that there should be a common rule for the conduct of worship. Therefore the Book of Common Prayer was made, taken for the most part from Roman prayers, translated with love and reverence. In the wording of the prayers and in the ritual all that was thought superstitious was left out; the language was beautiful and harmonious.

This was what Elizabeth enforced, and this was what Laud desired to enforce. When men abuse Laud they should remember that his tyranny was this—that he demanded in every church a uniform and beautiful service. It does not sound so bad when stated thus. Even Milton, the great Puritan, before he became embittered wrote these words:—

> "But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high embowèd roof,
> With antique pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light:
> There let the pealing organ blow
> To the full-voicèd quire below
> In service high and anthems clear,

> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me with ecstasies,
> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes."

Unfortunately, there were many honest and good men who had come to hate all that was connected with the old Church. They did not say to themselves, this is bad, away with this; that is good, let it be kept. They said, destroy it all, and start afresh. They hated the priest, and his power; they hated the mass and its supposed miracle. They thought that in the Church service the priest had too much share, and the people too little. The Eucharistic table at the East end, the kneeling position at the Communion, the solemnities of the service, all these were for them relics of a superstitious ceremony. All vestments were Popish mummery; music and organs were suspected. Even the Prayer Book was Popish; they wanted liberty for such prayers as might suit their taste.

They felt very bitterly about such things, and resisted. When the minister of a parish refused to use the appointed ceremonies and was driven out, the bitterness increased. When Laud sent his deputies round to see that the order of service was duly observed, men rebelled yet more. When men formed separate congregations for worship and were dispersed and punished, resentment increased. They had been taught to disobey the Pope; was it likely they would obey the King and the Archbishop against their conscience? Moreover, they were Englishmen, and coercion only increased their obstinacy. The bitterness that grew up is strange in our eyes; the refined and scholarly Milton uses

language against the excellent Bishop Hall that would be thought excessive in an assembly of blackguards. Still, the English discontent might have passed away but for the troubles in Scotland.

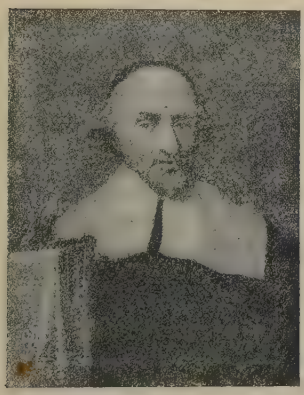
SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

Up to the sixteenth century Scotland had been poor, barbarous, and remote from the main stream of history. The Scotch raided the poorest parts of England, and the English raided the richest parts of Scotland. On the borders warfare was constant. The attempt of Edward I to conquer Scotland failed miserably. The standing enmity between the Scotch and the English was turned to advantage by the French, when at war with England. Friendship between Scotland and France was traditional, and the Scotch had more intercourse with France than with their neighbour to the south.

Henry VII married his daughter to James IV of Scotland, and thus—a hundred years later—the two crowns came into one hand. Mary, Queen of Scots (5), great-granddaughter of James III and also of Henry VII, married Francis, who was King of France for one year. At this time there was a plot to attach the Kingdom of Scotland to the crown of France, but it broke down owing to the death of Francis, and the skill of Elizabeth; and in any case it is doubtful whether the Scotch would have endured a foreign King. The Catholics of the continent would have been glad to see Elizabeth deposed, and Mary made Queen of England in her place. Instead of that, Mary was driven from

Scotland, and put herself in the power of Elizabeth, who, as you know, at last cut off her head.

While Mary was living in France, and Scotland was governed by regents, the Reformation came into Scotland. The Scotch took to it very readily, and the leading reformer was John Knox (35), an eloquent preacher of the school of Calvin. In a few years the old Church was upset and the new Kirk established. When Mary returned to Scotland in 1561 she could not check the Reformation nor govern the country. She fled and was deposed in 1567. Her baby son, James VI, was brought up in the Protestant religion, but when he was old enough to act for himself he struggled in vain for government by Bishops against the Presbyterians.



35. John Knox.

Thus, when in 1603 James came to the English throne, there were two peoples under one King, the Scotch people and the English people; two Churches, the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. Each people had its own Parliament, its own customs, its own law, its own manners, its own institutions. From that time onward each people has greatly influenced the other. In the time of James I and ever afterwards many Scotch-

men have come to England. The settled institutions of England were gradually adopted in Scotland. Warfare between the nations ceased. Cromwell's war with the Scotch, and the wars on behalf of the Stewart Pretenders, were not wars of nations; they were wars of factions, civil wars. Henceforward, I may have to speak more frequently of our sister nation, whose fortunes have been linked with ours for three hundred years, and who for two hundred years has obeyed a common Parliament sitting at Westminster. But this is a history of the people of England. The people of England and the people of Scotland have done many things together; their partnership has been almost free from misunderstanding; but they are two peoples. The people of England did not absorb the Scotch people, nor did the Scotch absorb the English. They have continued to live side by side; two peoples under one government.

THE SCOTCH TROUBLES

In Scotland men had been accustomed to Presbyterian government and Presbyterian worship for about sixty years, when Charles and Laud roused them to resistance. James' Bishops had not made much difference. Thus, when Laud tried to make the Scotch Kirk use his new Prayer Book, he found custom as well as opinion against him. The Scotch were more bigoted in their views than the English, and not less obstinate. The King was obliged either to give way and confess himself beaten, or to go to war. Ignorant of Scotland, as

James had been of England, he chose war. But he had no standing army such as would obey his commands without question; so he had to rely on his English subjects, ill-trained, and the most of them unwilling. He had no money to equip them, so he had to come to Parliament. But the English Parliament had no mind to pay money in order that the Scotch might be forced to worship in a way which many Englishmen disliked. So when the Parliament, which we call the Long Parliament, was called in 1640, men's minds were ready for a serious trial of strength with the King.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT

It may well be asked whether the Long Parliament that began the conflict was entitled to speak for the people. The Upper House, the House of Lords, consisted partly of the ancient Peers, whose influence had become less, partly of Peers created by James and Charles, and largely of Bishops, who stood with the King, and in any case were dependent on his favour in many ways. The Lower House was elected by a small part of the nation. In the country the freeholders—the men who lived upon land of their own and alone could vote—were but a small part of the people. In the towns, as a rule, the corporations—that is, the authorities of each borough—controlled the elections.

In the House of Commons the country gentlemen and the lawyers were a majority. Many country gentlemen were chosen as members for boroughs.

Both houses were composed of the upper classes. Could they speak for the people?

I think they could and did. The influence of the country gentlemen was then much greater than it is now. They lived among their people; they were not very well educated, and therefore mixed the more easily with all sorts. As Justices of the Peace they knew something of the law and its working; they paid a great part of the taxes; and most of them had a church on their estates whose parson was appointed by the landlord. Their views carried weight; the yeomen, who farmed their own land, and the tenant-farmers, who rented land from the country gentlemen, were ready to follow them. The peasants were too ignorant to have any mind of their own; they went with their betters. The Parliament was Puritan on the whole; the towns were Puritan, at any rate in the south and east, and many, if not most, of the country gentlemen were Puritan. There was also a strong minority who stood by the King, right or wrong. These two feelings, desire for liberty of worship, and loyalty to the King, were the strongest feelings of the people; and they are seen in this Parliament. Many men were torn in two between them, and so was the Parliament.

The lawyers were most to be suspected. Lawyers live in a world of their own—a world of law—and there are many things in the world that matter besides law; many of them were ambitious for themselves, and the King held in his hands most of the prizes for lawyers. But this was in

part a struggle of the people against the King for the fixing of the law. Many of the questions that were most hotly discussed in this Parliament were questions of law; the Star Chamber and the High Commission—if not illegal—were against the spirit of the law; and so was the levying of Customs and Ship-money without the authority of Parliament. On all these points the lawyers would be with the people against the King.

Of course at the beginning the majority of the people was indifferent. But it is the few who have strong desires who move the people; if what they desire is also desired by the people the indifferent will follow them; if what they desire is disliked by the people, the indifferent will sooner or later be roused to resistance. This Parliament was a Parliament that felt strongly, some for the King and the Bishops, more against them. And if the Parliament had mistaken the true feeling of the people they would have been corrected by the other test—the test of civil war.

In the civil war that followed the King had one great advantage. Men were accustomed to obey the King; they were not accustomed to obey any one who might be sent down by Parliament. Many followed the King, many gave their lives for him, not because they approved what he had done and wished to do, but just because he was the King, and it was in their blood to obey, honour, and love him. At first the indifferent obeyed his orders as a matter of course. But on the other side there was yet a stronger feeling; faith—faith

in religion and faith in right. The Parliament and the New Model Army would not have been victorious if on the whole the people had not been on their side. The accidents of war, the mistakes of generals, did not decide the issue. The people was torn in two by two strong feelings, and the more powerful feeling prevailed at last. If the King had been a stronger and a wiser man, the loyalty of the people would have brought it round to his side. But Charles was Charles, and this was a quarrel with Charles, and not with Kings in general.

CAVALIERS AND PURITANS

The difference of opinion between one side and the other was seen in manners and costume. The sour severity of the Puritans made the King's friends exaggerate their freedom of behaviour. Because the Puritans condemned drinking, and swearing, and gaming, the Cavaliers affected these vices. With the reign of James the huge trunk hose and the inflated farthingales had disappeared. The court of Charles I was dressed richly but with taste. The dress of the time of Charles I can be

36. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

studied in the beautiful portraits of Vandyke, a Dutch painter who worked for the Court of Charles. Breeches were worn to the knee, and finished off with bows. The hair of men was elegantly dressed. Stuffs were delicate in fabric and colours were carefully chosen. Lace and feathers were freely worn. Against the fashion of the Court, whatever it might be, the Puritan set himself. If the Court wore ruffs the Puritan wore a wide low collar. When fashion turned to the low collar the Puritan encircled his neck with a narrow band. As the Cavalier prided himself on his love-locks the Puritan cut his hair close. But not all Puritans were round-heads. Fairfax and Cromwell and other notable Puritans wore their hair long. Yet it may be said that the Cavalier in his dress and his manners suggested a freedom which he did not always carry out in his life; while the Puritan's severity of dress was a protest against the wearers of the gay costume, and his manners, like the prayer of the Pharisee, proclaimed that he was not as other men were. A great part of the country was divided already before the war into two camps; and the soldiers of each camp could be distinguished by their uniform and their bearing.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIVIL WAR—AND AFTERWARDS

1640—1660

THE fate of the people of England hung upon the issue of the great Civil War of King and Parliament. The war might have left the King with full power to do as he wished in Church and State—like Louis XIV of France. It might have destroyed the work of centuries of patient progress as the Thirty Years' War did in Germany. We were more fortunate; after the war the King was less powerful, the Parliament more powerful; but each had learnt that neither could do without the other.

We had had civil wars before—the wars which Simon de Montfort conducted against Henry III, the wars of the Roses, and a few unimportant risings such as the Pilgrimage of Grace. But earlier wars had been the affair of a fighting caste with their dependants and their retainers. In this war the whole people was concerned; no one could be indifferent to the result.

The war was a war of religion in the first place; not so much for one set of beliefs against another, as for liberty to the whole people to settle its manner of worship for itself—or to leave worship free. The Presbyterians wished to settle the

Government of the Church and the manner of worship by elected assemblies; the Independents wished each congregation to be free to govern its own worship. But all the Puritans were opposed to the rule of the Bishops, suspected the ceremonies and forms imposed by the Bishops, and regarded them as tainted with Popery.

In other countries also religious wars arose about the same time. In France the principal wars of religion took place during the reign of Elizabeth; but in the time of Charles I Richelieu was fighting the last fight with the French Calvinists. The Dutch had their long war of religion from 1568-1648, with intervals. In Germany the great war of religion began in 1618 and lasted till 1648. The English war was far less destructive and merciless than the German war. Habits of order and respect for human life and property were stronger in England than in Germany. In England the war was between two great authorities—the King and the Parliament; either could command to a certain extent the loyalty of the whole people. In Germany there were hundreds of princes, great and small—lay princes and princes of the Church—and free towns, that were not accustomed to obey any man. Thus in Germany the whole people was broken up, and the fighting bands were under no control except that of their own captains, who could not or did not enforce discipline. In this way Germany was ruined and demoralised, and did not recover her previous prosperity for fully two hundred years. Such a fate England escaped.

Our war was in the first place a war of religion; but it was also a war to restrain by law the power of the King. When we read of the Parliaments of Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, and James, we might think that the Parliament was helpless and submissive. The Parliaments of Charles showed a higher spirit and purpose; but when Charles decided to govern without a Parliament the people did not at once rebel. However, when the civil war broke out the strength of Parliament was plainly seen; a large part of the people chose to obey the orders of the Parliament rather than those of the King. The people had learnt during three centuries and a half—since Edward I—to look to Parliament as the source of law; it felt that the King was now setting himself against the spirit of law; and, on the whole, it stood with the men who wished to bind the King by law.

THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT

How is a country governed? For the most part it governs itself. There are the laws, and for the most part men obey the laws without question. If any one disobey the law, he can be punished, but as a rule punishment is not required. There is, for instance, a law that all children must go to school until they reach a certain age. Now and then it is necessary to punish parents who do not send their children to school. But this is rare; the law is known and obeyed.

Custom is even more powerful than law, and brings about what magistrates and policemen could

not enforce. Everyone does what he is in the habit of doing, without need of special orders. It is necessary that London should be fed; but it is not necessary that Government should issue orders for the purpose. Each man rises at the appointed hour and goes to his work. The men who bring vegetables are rumbling through the streets with their heavy carts and lorries between twelve and two in the morning. The porters are ready to receive the loads when they reach Covent Garden and other markets. Then the salesmen get to work and sell the stuff to the shopmen, stallmen, and costermongers. So that when we want cabbages or potatoes, say at nine or ten in the morning, they are ready for us. The whole of London is fed, warmed, clothed, lighted, cleaned, the whole of this nation is able to live, because everyone, or nearly everyone, is in the habit of doing his duty at the right time. It is true that those who do not do their duty may get punished. They may lose their jobs and their wages. But men, as a rule, do their business at the right time and in the right way because that is their habit; they seldom think of doing anything else. They need no orders from Government in nine-tenths of their life. You can think this out for yourself; it is true of every kind of business.

If law were always obeyed and custom always followed, the business of government would be much lighter than it is. But government would, nevertheless, be needed. Judges are needed to punish those who do wrong or fail to do their duty.

But it is not always easy to understand the meaning of the law, and, if everyone were just and law-abiding, Judges would still be needed to say what the law means when any difficult question arises. All sorts of officers of the law are needed, policemen, bailiffs, sheriffs, inspectors, to see that the law is obeyed, not only because men want to break the law, but because men need to be reminded of those duties which are not a matter of habit.

Thus even in the case of the Judges we can see that Government has two things to do. The Judges decide the law, and other men see that their decisions are carried out. First of all Government has to decide what is to be done where law and custom do not suffice. Then it has to get it done and someone has to do it. For instance, Government decides that all children should be taught. The Board of Education has to get the teaching done. But the Board does not do that itself; it tells the County Council or the Borough Council to have schools built, teachers appointed, and children collected. Then the teachers do the teaching, and the children do the learning, if they are wise.

For getting things done and doing them there is a convenient name. We call it the executive business of the Government. For the other business of Government—that of deciding what is to be done—there is no one suitable name. The Judges decide what the law requires to be done. That we call the judicial business of Government. If new laws are needed Parliament makes them. That we call the legislative business. Parliament decides

what money is needed for Government, how it is to be spent, and by what taxes it is to be raised. That we call the financial business. The Ministers of the King decide what the nation shall do as a nation. The greatest of all decisions is left to them, when there is a question of making war; but in our country and at this time no Ministers would dare to make war unless Parliament were on their side, and unless they were sure that the people approved. The decision of such questions we call policy. Many questions of policy are decided by Ministers; others require the approval of Parliament; some the approval also of the people.

At one time all the business of Government was carried on by the King. He needed help and advice, but that he could get as he needed it. Henry II made laws, imposed taxes, organised finance, set up judges, settled policy. But in the five centuries that had passed between the accession of Henry II and the Civil War, the business of Government had come to be rather vaguely divided between the King and the Parliament. The King was the executive. It was his business, and the business of those who took orders from him, to get things done. He appointed the Judges, and left them free to decide the law, except where his own powers were concerned. He decided questions of policy. The Parliament, on the other hand, made laws and imposed taxes.

A great many questions were not yet settled, as to what the King might decide himself, and in what the Parliament had a right to be consulted. But

on the whole, when war broke out, things were like this. The King could not make laws that would be obeyed, or impose taxes that would be paid. The latter was his great difficulty, The Parliament had to get things done, which was not its business. That was the great difficulty of the Parliament.

An assembly or committee cannot do things itself; it needs executive officers, accustomed to obey it. Moreover, the executive officers must often act quickly. They cannot be always coming to a Parliament for instructions and powers. Discussions in Parliament take a long time, and action must be prompt. The Parliament in the Civil War got over a part of its difficulties by leaving some things to its committees and others to the generals of the armies. But before and after the King had been beheaded it was proved that the Parliament could not govern the people; the Army that the Parliament had created refused to obey it. As so often happens in revolutions, the man who was master of the army became master of the people. Cromwell was a great man, and kept the people under without using much violence. But he left no successor like himself, and after being ruled by soldiers for a while, and living for a time under no certain rule at all, the people willingly went back to the government by King and Bishops. The people was tired of new experiments; it wanted rest.

It might seem that the Civil War was useless. After Charles II came back things were in appearance much as they had been under his father. But the King had learnt to respect his people, and he

knew how to manage the Parliament which spoke for them. One King more, James II, ventured to go against the wishes of his people, and he lost his throne.

SCOTLAND

This was a civil war not only in England but also in Scotland and Ireland. The Scotch joined the English in the war to make their own Presbyterian system of religion secure in Scotland. They hoped that a similar system would be set up in England. They helped the Parliament at Marston Moor and in conquering the North of England. But the English Presbyterians could not have their will, and the Scotch were disappointed. Moreover, Charles was their King; the Stewarts had been Kings of Scotland before they were Kings of England; and when Charles was beheaded by the English without consulting the Scotch, Charles II was proclaimed King of Scotland and the Scotch took up arms on his behalf. By Cromwell's victory at Dunbar (1650), and the thorough work of Monk's army afterwards, Scotland became a conquered country, and was administered as part of England. After Charles II had been defeated at Worcester (1651), Scotland lived quietly till the Restoration. But the Scotch were not ready for union with England, and Monk's promise to restore the liberties of Scotland won the Scotch to his side and afterwards to the side of Charles II.

IRELAND

Ireland had been conquered in the reign of Henry

II; but up to the time of Henry VIII the English Kings had hardly pretended to govern it. Little attempt was made to enforce the law outside what was called the Pale, a small district in the neighbourhood of Dublin. The great majority of the Irish lived a wandering life, scantily clad, with no fixed dwellings, supported by hunting and their flocks and herds. They were grouped in tribes or clans, each living under the rule of its chief. Even religion had fallen into decay. The peace was not kept; wars between clans and attacks upon the Pale were frequent.

When Henry VIII broke with the Pope, he persuaded the Irish Parliament—for an Irish Parliament sat in Dublin—to acknowledge that he was King, and Head of the Church in Ireland. The great chiefs appeared to accept his authority, and the English Government began to take some interest in Irish affairs. But they could not understand the Irish, and it was impossible to govern the Irish as if they were Englishmen. So the interference did more harm than good.

Then the evil idea struck them of colonising the land of Ireland. The English rulers thought to themselves: "These Irishmen will not live quietly or in a manner which we understand. They do not make much use of their land; let us drive them out of it, and give it to good law-abiding Englishmen who will settle down and cultivate it peacefully." The first colonies were made in the districts now called King's County and Queen's County, to punish the tribes of those regions who had rebelled. Queen

Elizabeth made "plantations," as they were called, in the province of Munster. King James settled Scotchmen in Ulster. All this caused rightful anger in the Irishmen; and the men who were turned out often became lawless vagabonds, and added to the disorder. Moreover, many of those to whom the lands were given did not really occupy their lands; so the object desired was not achieved.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Papists made an effort to win back the Irish to the Catholic faith, and thus to harass the Protestant Queen. They sent preachers to the Irish, who had never really given up the Catholic faith, and were not likely to love a form of religion which came from England. Under their influence the Irish became strong Catholics, partly because they never had really been Protestants, and partly because they had good reason to hate the English.

King Charles sent Strafford (37) to Ireland, and for the first time Ireland was really governed. Strafford encouraged the linen industry, and helped trade in other ways. His was a strong hand, and order was better kept than it had ever been. Unfortunately, he went on with the policy of turning out Irishmen and giving their lands to Englishmen, so discontent grew worse. Strafford made an army in Ireland, which might have been useful if any large part of it had been able to come to England; though you can judge whether England would have been willing to submit to conquest by an army of Irishmen. But before the troubles had begun in England Ireland broke out in a general rebellion.

It was rebellion against the Protestant religion; it was rebellion against the English; it was rebellion against the new settlers; it was not rebellion against the King; the Irish would have been willing to make terms with the King. But the King hesitated; indeed, there was no one person, or body of persons, with whom he could certainly make terms which would have been maintained. So the rebellion went on, though it is hardly true to say that it was a rebellion for the King, and certainly it was not a rebellion for the English Parliament.

37. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

From an old copy of a painting by Van Dyck in the National Portrait Gallery.

When the English had disposed of their King, Cromwell and his friends were not likely to stand disorder in a country that England was supposed to rule. They were not afraid of war, and they thoroughly understood it. In 1649 Cromwell led an army to Ireland which in three years beat down, by ruthless methods, all resistance. A new distribution of Irish land followed, for the benefit of

ENGLAND & WALES
May 1st 1643
Districts held by the King
" " Parliament
SCOTLAND
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Berwick on Tweed
NORTH SEA
North Channel
IRELAND
NORTHUMBERLAND
Carlisle
Solway F
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
Durham
Appleby
WESTMORELAND
Richmond
Scarborough
ISLE OF MAN
Douglas
YORK
Ripon
York
Hull
IRISH SEA
LANCASTER
Preston
Leeds
Wigan
Liverpool
Manchester
Sheffield
Grimsby
ANGLESEY
Beaumaris
Carnarvon
CARNARVON
Denbigh
DENBIGH
CHESHIRE
Chester
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
Lincoln
LINCOLN
Boston
The Wash
MERIONETH
Stafford
STAFFORD
Derby
Nottingham
Kingslynn
Norwich
NORFOLK
Gt Yarmouth
CARDIGAN BAY
Snrewsbury
MONTGOMERY
Montgomery
SHROPSHIRE
Lichfield
LEICESTER
Leicester
RUTLAND
Peterboro
Birmingham
Coventry
WARWICK
Warwick
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTS
Huntingdon
Bury St Edmonds
SUFFOLK
CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge
Northampton
Bedford
Ipswich
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
New Radnor
WORCESTER
Worcester
Banbury
Cardigan
HEREFORD
Hereford
BRECKNOCK
Brecknock
Gloucester
OXFORD
Oxford
BUCKINGHAM
Aylesbury
Albans
HERTFORD
Hertford
ESSEX
Chelmsford
PEMBROKE
Pembroke
CARMARTHEN
GLAMORGAN
MONMOUTH
Monmouth
Malmesbury
BERKSHIRE
Bristol
Cardiff
Bath
Marlboro
Reading
Windsor
MIDDLESEX
London
R. Thames
Maidstone
BRISTOL CHAN.
WILTSHIRE
Devizes
SURREY
Guildford
KENT
Canterbury
Dover
SOMERSET
Taunton
Sarsbury
HAMPSHIRE
Winchester
SUSSEX
Chichester
Hastings
Str of Dover
DEVON
Exeter
DORSET
Dorchester
Southampton
Portsmouth
Newport
I. OF WIGHT
CORNWALL
Launceston
Plymouth
Truro
Falmouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE

Cromwell's soldiers and others; by the end of Cromwell's settlement two thirds of Irish land had passed into the hands of Englishmen. In the time of William III yet more land was taken from the Irish. The whole story is an ugly story; one could pardon the violent measures if Ireland had been well governed; still more, if it had been helped to govern itself. But the English never paid much attention to Ireland except when there was trouble there; they did not and could not govern Ireland, and they would not allow the Irish people to govern itself. The great Civil War, which might have been a chance to put things straight in Ireland, only made things worse.

ENGLAND

The country of England was at first divided between the King and Parliament in a manner that is easy to understand. (38.) If you draw a line from Boston to Hartland Point, all England south and east of that line was in the hands of the Parliament in 1643, except Oxfordshire, part of Gloucestershire, and Cornwall. In addition, the Parliament held the West Riding, the eastern part of Cheshire, and the east of Lancashire, the east of Lincolnshire and the south-east of Yorkshire. The King held the most backward parts of the country, where the new ideas of religion and law had not taken hold. The Parliament held the richest parts and the manufacturing districts. In every district there were some gentlemen who stood for the King and their tenants often went with their lords. But in the

districts named the Parliament was master on the whole.

Thus, from the first, the Parliament had a great advantage. Numbers and wealth were on its side. The Puritans were serious and fanatical; they were a minority even among those who supported the Parliament, but they were energetic and full of faith. The Royalists had only one principle in common—loyalty to the King. If Charles had been a strong man, knowing his own mind, he could have imposed his will on his followers. But he was not; discipline, purpose, and method, were rather on the side of Parliament.

It was the tradition that taxes should be voted by Parliament. Parliament was able to tax the districts which were under its control, and have the taxes collected. The King never was able to establish a regular system of taxation. Thus he was obliged to scatter his forces in many strongholds, that they might be able to collect for themselves the things that they needed. The Parliamentary leaders, who could pay for supplies, were able to keep their armies together. As time went on the Parliament seized the lands of the King, the Church, and the royalists, and was able to raise money by selling them. Thus the Parliament had a great advantage in point of money, which increased as time went on.

PREPARATION FOR WAR

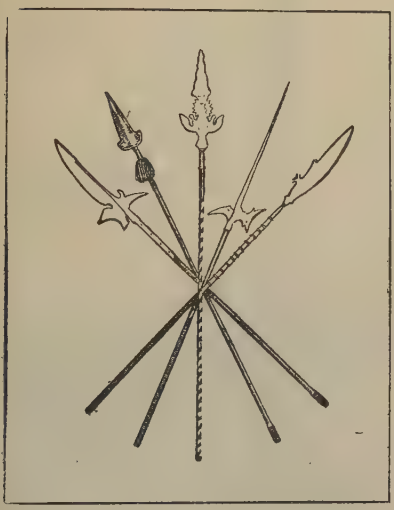
The people was quite unaccustomed to war. Since 1485 the country had engaged in no serious warfare on land. The expeditions that Elizabeth,

James I, and Charles, had sent out had been ill-equipped, untrained, undisciplined, and badly led. If the Armada had enabled Parma to ship his Spanish veterans to England they should have had an easy victory. On the other hand, many Englishmen and Scotchmen had fought as volunteers—for the Dutch in the Low Countries, in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and under other leaders in the Thirty Years' War. There were thus on both sides a few leaders who knew something of war, and could assist in organising and training; others, like Cromwell, picked up their learning and experience during the course of the war.

Elizabeth had ordered that every county should provide arms and other equipment for a certain number of men, and a like number of men was supposed to be enrolled in each county and to meet for training for a few days now and then. The arms were there on the outbreak of war, and in each district the stronger or more active party seized them. But the trained-bands, as they were called, were untrained except in London. When they were called up, they were unwilling to serve outside their county. The bands of London, however, had undergone some drill and were zealous. London supplied about 18,000 tolerable infantry to the Parliament, who were very useful in the early stages of the war. But at first both sides relied chiefly on volunteers; and afterwards both sides compelled men to serve, "impressed" soldiers, as it was called.

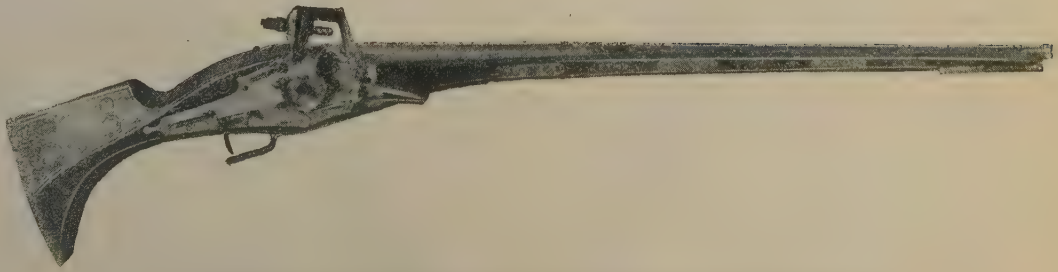
INFANTRY

For infantry bows had gone entirely out of use. The bill, half axe and half knife, mounted on a handle, had also been given up. (39.) The weapons used were the musket and the pike. About one-third in every body of foot soldiers carried the pike. The rest were musketeers. (40.) The infantry musket was a match-lock. A charge of powder was put into the barrel, rammed down with a wad, then the bullet and another wad. Sometimes the charge of powder was enclosed in a case or cartridge for greater convenience. The priming of fine powder was then put into the pan and ignited with the match—a length of burning tow—to fire the charge. This was a slow process, but with practice not so slow as might be expected. At first the men were ranged in six lines; each line fired in turn and then fell back to reload and gave space for the rearward ranks to fire in order. Later the infantry were placed in three ranks, to give a



39. Pikes and Partisans.

A Match-lock Gun. French Workmanship. Late 16th Century.



40. A Small Bore Wheel-lock Gun, South German. Early 17th Century.

wider front, and some leaders taught the three ranks to fire all together. When the bodies of men met hand to hand the pikemen had their chance, and the musketeers also fell on with the butt-ends of their muskets.

It was not until later that the bayonet was invented, a short sword fitting into the barrel like a plug. When all the musketeers had been thus armed with a stabbing weapon, pikes were given up; the same man served the turn of a musketeer and of a pikeman. The modern bayonet, which does not plug the barrel and allows the weapon to be fired after the bayonet is fixed, was a still later invention. At the beginning of the war the infantry sometimes wore body armour; but before the end it was entirely given up because it impeded rapid marching.

41. **Prince Rupert.**
From the Painting by Lely in the National Portrait Gallery.

HORSE

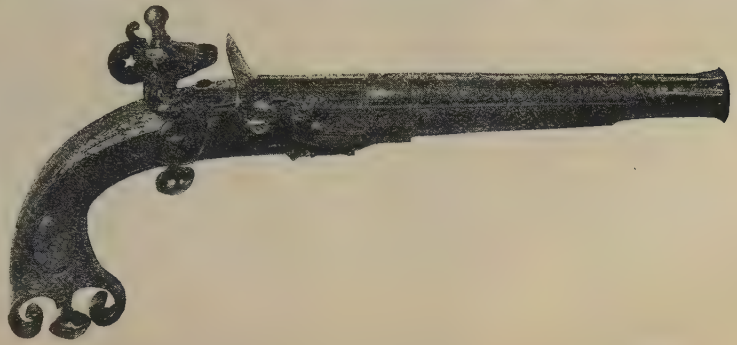
Both sides relied greatly on horse. The weapons of the cavalry were the

pistol and the sword. At one time the cavalry used to trot up line by line and discharge their pistols, and then wheel round to reload. Rupert (41) taught his men to charge home, and often scattered the Round-heads in the early battles. Cromwell's men followed their example. The cavalry, like the infantry, were at first marshalled six deep, and afterwards three deep. The shallower formation would outflank the deeper, and fall upon the unprotected flanks of the enemy. Armour was made much lighter, but Cromwell's cavalry still wore iron back and breast. The iron head-piece was given up for the hat, and some gave up iron armour altogether and contented themselves with the buff coat of leather lined and quilted. (42.)

42. Cromwellian Horseman.

The pistol for cavalry was generally a flint-lock in which the priming was fired by a steel cock carrying a flint, which was released by a trigger and driven by a spring on to steel so as to ignite the priming with the sparks. There was also the wheel-lock, in which a wheel of steel served

Flint-lock Pistol. German Workmanship. Late 17th Century.



43. Flint-lock Pistol. Scotch Workmanship. Late 17th Century

the same purpose, but this was liable to go out of order. (43.) Men were taught to reserve their fire till they came quite near; they would then discharge both pistols and fall on with their swords.

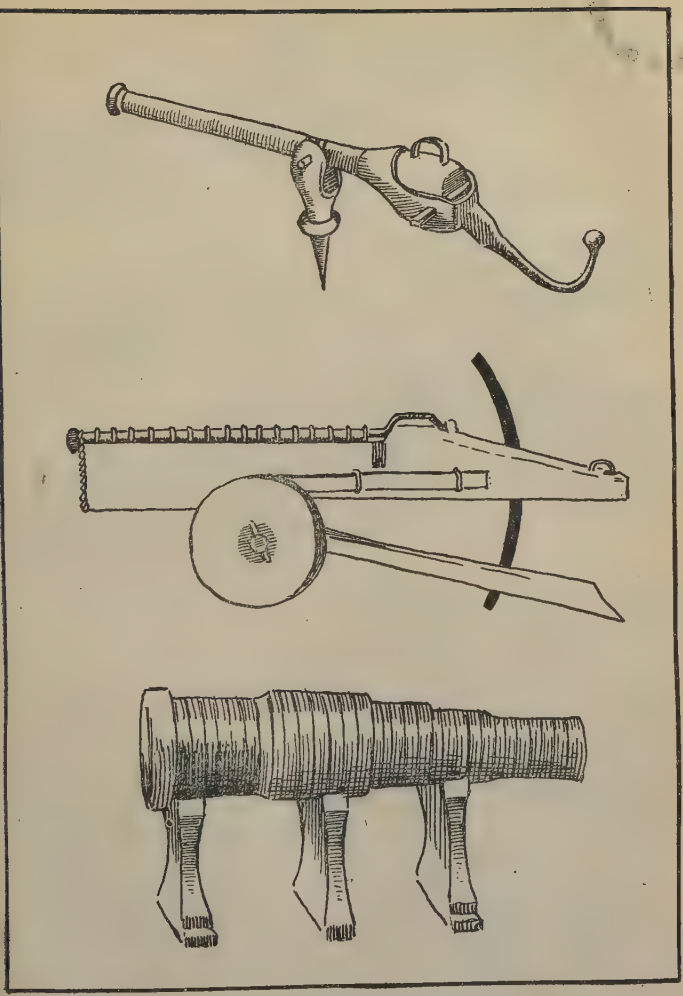
Mounted infantry were also employed. They were armed with short muskets, called dragons. Hence their name of dragoons, or dragooners. They were sent forward to seize important positions; when they had reached the place desired they dismounted and opened fire.

ARTILLERY

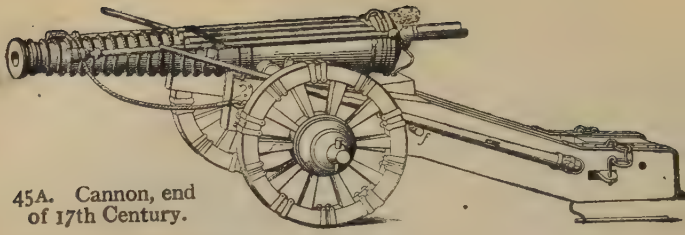
Artillery was already divided into field artillery and siege artillery. The culverin, a sixteen pounder, was sometimes taken into battle, but the chief field-piece was a demi-culverin, throwing a shot of eight pounds in weight; and smaller guns were also used. For sieges cannon, 40-48 pounds, and demi-cannon, twenty-four pounds, were needed; and mortars throwing a twelve-inch explosive shell were also very effective. (44, 45.)

ORGANISATION

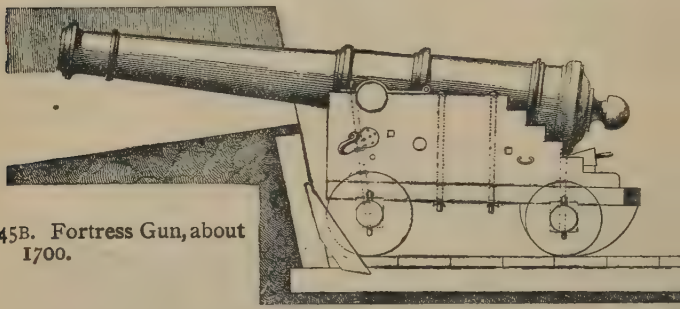
The unit was the regiment—of 1,200 foot, divided into ten companies, or 600 horse, divided into six troops. The system of officers had been worked out in the continental wars, and has not been much changed since. The colonel commanded the regiment; under him were a major, captains, lieutenants, cornets for cavalry, and ensigns for infantry. Non-commissioned officers were sergeants and corporals for infantry, corporals only for horse. But the



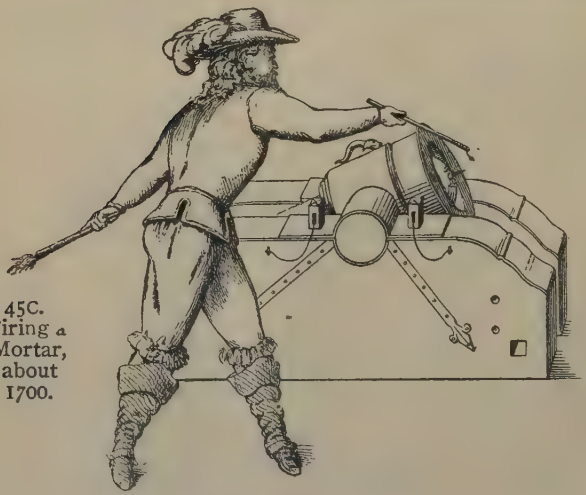
44. Ancient Cannon.



45A. Cannon, end of 17th Century.



45B. Fortress Gun, about 1700.



45C. Firing a Mortar, about 1700.

organisation in regiments was not regular on either side till Fairfax and Cromwell (46) set up their New Model Army. On the King's side, especially, regiments were sometimes strong in men and officers and sometimes very weak. The King, of course, issued his own commissions; but Fairfax, and afterwards Cromwell, had a free hand in the selection of officers. Promotion from the ranks was common in the Parliamentary Army; but, on the whole, the officers were men of better birth and education than the privates. Though many of the gentry were on the side of the King this was not a war of the gentry against the people.

At first there were no uniforms. Men of each side distinguished themselves by coloured scarves. Newcastle clothed his men in white coats. The Parliament eventually adopted the red coats, different units being marked by different colours in their facings. For two hundred and fifty years the British foot-soldier fought in red, until the khaki came to us from India.

Discipline was not good on the whole in the Royalist army, who had to live upon the country. It became very good on the Parliament side, when pay was more regularly provided. Articles of war —*i.e.* rules for discipline—were adopted, following those worked out on the continent. Plundering and violence were sternly repressed. Penalties were severe: among them were shooting, hanging, flogging, and running the gauntlet.

The scale of pay was high in the New Model, especially for officers. The Colonel got not less

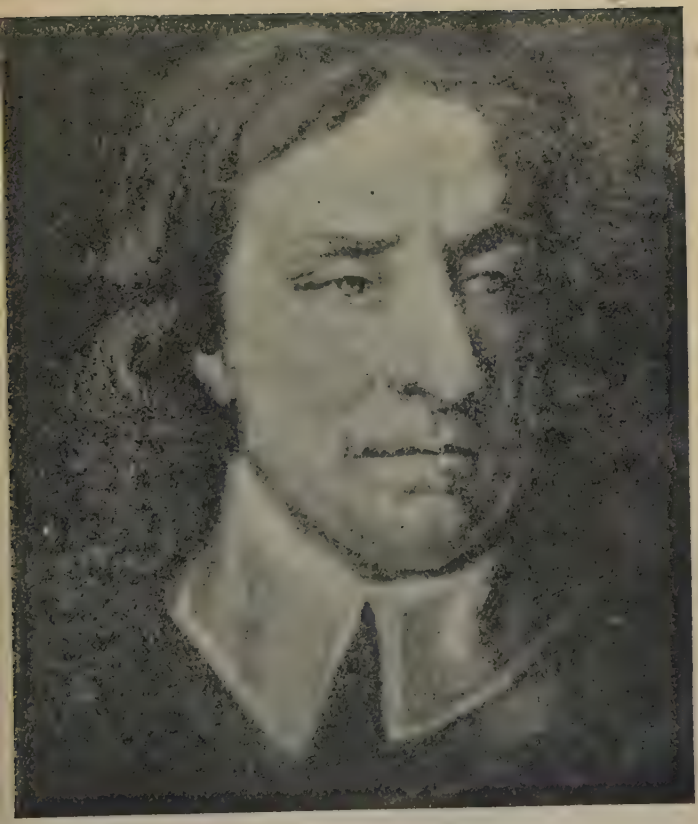
than a pound a day, with allowances besides. One pound of that time cannot be taken as worth less than three of our modern pounds. The infantry private received eightpence a day; other grades in proportion. On the other hand the officers and soldiers were, as a rule, expected to pay for their own food, and if rations were provided the value was deducted from the pay. When rations were provided, they generally consisted of biscuit and cheese. The Parliament, however, did not always manage to pay punctually, and the troops were sometimes many months in arrears, which was bad for efficiency and discipline. Still, after the New Model had been set up, the pay was regular enough to enable discipline to be maintained.

Both sides impressed men, but after 1651 there were so many trained soldiers in the country that Cromwell's army could be kept up by volunteers. Royalist soldiers when disbanded or broken up often took service with the Parliament.

Special rewards of money were given for exceptional service, such as taking part in the assault of a town. Towns taken by assault were sometimes sacked, in accordance with the custom of war. The sacking was regarded as a punishment for the town which had resisted to the bitter end. But more often in our Civil War a sum was paid to the soldiers to redeem their right of plunder; and the inhabitants of a town were glad to contribute to a bargain that benefited them so greatly.

THE NAVY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

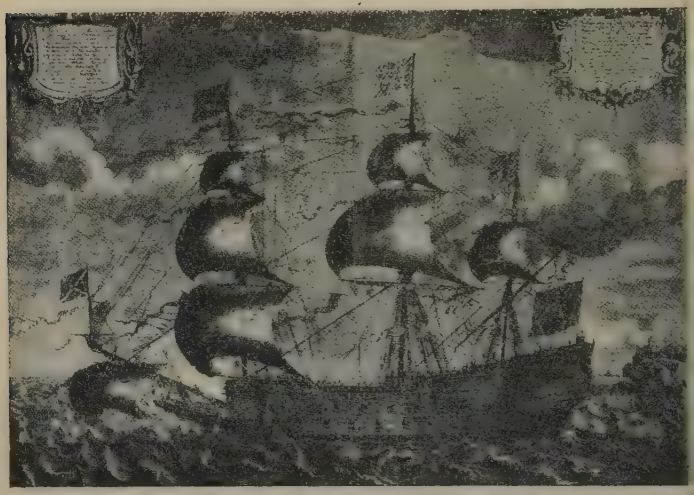
Under James I the Navy was shamefully neg-



46. Oliver Cromwell.

From a Crayon Portrait by Cooper, in the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

lected, but under Charles an improvement was made. Ship-money was not entirely wasted (47), and when war broke out Charles had a stronger royal Navy than had any of the sovereigns that went before him. Just before the outbreak of war the



47. The Sovereign of the Seas.

Parliament sent the Earl of Warwick to take command of the Fleet, and the seamen and captains gave him their obedience. Warwick became Lord High Admiral for the Parliament. Since the time of Elizabeth the sailors had been very Protestant.

The support of the Fleet was valuable to the Parliament, though it might have been used to greater advantage. Not long before the execution of Charles a part of the Fleet declared itself to be

Royalist, but was forced for want of provisions to retire to Holland. Rupert was put in command of the Royalist Fleet, and he led it to Kinsale harbour in Ireland. In default of sea-captains whom they could trust, the Independents, who were then in power, put three soldiers in command, one of whom, Robert Blake, became one of our greatest admirals. Rupert was blockaded in Kinsale, but escaped to the Mediterranean, where his force gradually melted away.

Cromwell maintained and increased the fleet. In the campaign of Dunbar the fleet was very useful by supplying the needs of the army. Our navy appeared in the Mediterranean under Blake, and harried the Moorish pirates in their own seas and their homes.

THE DUTCH

The great sea-power of the time was Holland, whose ships carried goods for merchants to all parts of the world. To secure for England a part of this carrying trade the Navigation Act was passed, in 1651, forbidding our exports or imports to be carried to or from any part of Asia, Africa, or America, except in ships that were owned by Englishmen, or by the country that supplied or received the goods. The Dutch, resenting this Act, refused to honour the English flag in English waters in the customary manner by lowering their colours and dipping their topsails. In the war which followed for the honour of the flag the English, though at first much inferior in strength, more than held their own, and the Dutch were

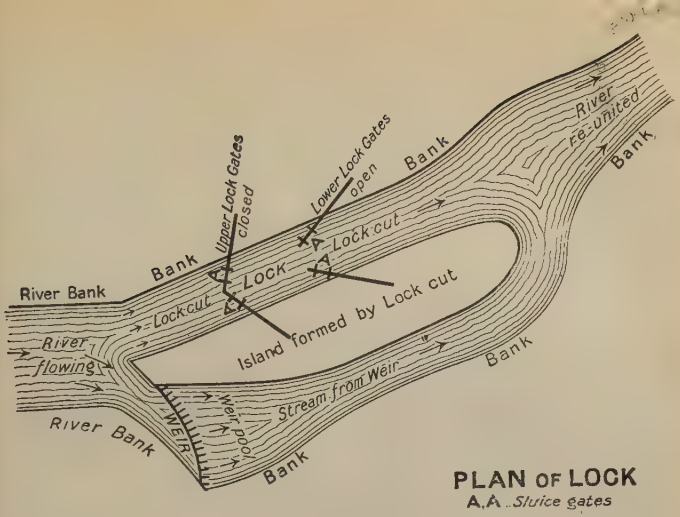
obliged to sue for peace and consent to salute the English flag.

The Dutch were ahead of the English in industry and wealth. They were our chief teachers during the seventeenth century. From them we learnt to make locks and weirs upon our rivers, that the level of the water being raised boats and barges could pass more easily. (48.) From them we learnt to drain the fens. The draining of the Cambridgeshire Fens, known as the Bedford levels, because the work was begun by the Earl of Bedford in the reign of Charles I, was resisted by the fenmen, who were deprived of their shooting and fishing when the water was dried up. During the Civil War the rioters had it their own way, and much of the work was undone. It was resumed after the Restoration; and in course of time almost all the great fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were drained. The word sluice, for a movable door to control the flow of water, is a Dutch word; and Dutch experience was used by the engineers of fen drainage.

BANKING AND THE DUTCH

The Italians invented banking, but the Dutch were our masters in the art. The Bank of Amsterdam was founded in 1609, the Bank of Rotterdam in 1635. Our Bank of England was not founded until 1694. Up to that time the goldsmiths had been the bankers in London. Charles II borrowed their money and failed to repay it, which was the beginning of the National Debt.

I wonder if I can make you understand what



PLAN OF LOCK

A.A .. Sluice gates

48. The Canal, Devizes.

is the use of banks. In the Middle Ages it was thought wrong to lend money for interest, and laws were made against usury. Gradually feeling changed, and it was seen to be convenient that those who had money which they could not use should lend it to those who would employ it profitably. But there might be many rich men who wanted to lend, and many trustworthy men who wanted to borrow, and they might not be able to find each other. A bank is always ready to borrow and to lend if it can safely do so. When men had learnt to trust a bank, they found it convenient to leave their money in a bank, even though they might get little or no interest for it. It is a troublesome and anxious task to guard a large sum of money. So, as the banks came to be trusted, there were many who were willing to lend, to deposit their money. The banks made it their business to know who could be trusted and for how much, and they lent accordingly. They charged more for their loans than they paid for their borrowings, and so they got rich. At length they got to a point where they would lend a man money, and he would be content to leave it in the bank, drawing sums from time to time as he needed it. So the banks could lend the same money perhaps two or three times over. Money was always coming in and going out, and they expected never to be required to pay at one time more than a small part of what they owed. The Dutch banks invented bank-money, which was really no more than a promise to pay, if required, in coin of a certain value.

Thus money was made useful in Holland long before the English learnt this plan. In consequence the Dutch grew rich more quickly, and you could borrow money in Holland for about half the interest that was required in England.

OUR RIVALRY WITH THE DUTCH

It is very useful for merchants and shipowners to be able to borrow money. Thus Dutch trade and shipping grew enormously during the seventeenth century. They were before us in the trade everywhere, but especially in India and the Spice Islands. The Dutch were people very much like ourselves, only more civilised. They were Protestants, but more inclined to toleration than the English. It would have been natural that we should be friends. But trade jealousy prevented that, and thus, from time to time, we went to war with the Dutch. Unfortunately for the Dutch they lived on the continent, and were liable to have to fight on land as well as on the sea. We were free from any danger of invasion and could devote ourselves to the sea. Thus in length of time we proved to be the stronger, and the Dutch, although they were not crushed, fell behind in the race. This long contest began with the Navigation Act and the war successfully waged by Blake and Cromwell.

JEWS

Since the time of Edward I Jews were not allowed to live in England, though some may have done so without permission. Cromwell allowed the Jews

to come to England, and Charles II refused to interfere with them. Their wealth and instinct for using money were very useful to English trade.

PLANTATIONS BEYOND THE SEA

Our strength upon the sea made it possible for us to send colonies abroad, and our religious troubles made many vigorous men willing to cross the Atlantic. New Plymouth had been founded by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. Massachusetts and Connecticut were founded in 1628 and 1633, Rhode Island in 1636. The colonists set themselves to work to cultivate the land, they preserved a stern discipline, especially in religion, and they were always ready to fight with the natives, whom indeed they oppressed and treated as if they had no rights. They governed themselves with little help from the men at home. South and Central America were left to the Spanish and Portuguese. The English turned their attention to North America, where at first they had no rivals except the Dutch; the Dutch founded New Amsterdam, which we conquered in 1664, and it became the city of New York. Afterwards the French became more dangerous rivals. Cromwell took Jamaica from the Spaniards, and thus increased English power in the West Indies, where we had already occupied Barbados and other places.

The Elizabethan wars were glorious for English seamen, but the glories of the navy as a fighting force, provided and maintained by the whole people, begin with the Commonwealth and Cromwell.

What was then well begun has since been kept up; though the carelessness of Charles II brought us at one time into great danger.

POLITICS IN THE ARMY

The King's chief trouble during the Civil War was with his officers, whose jealousy and insubordination hampered him greatly. But on the Parliament side the soldiers were politicians, and were divided into sects, some of them holding very violent opinions. The leaders of the Army often had great difficulty in repressing agitation among the soldiers. At one time the soldiers called for a new Parliament to be elected by universal manhood suffrage; every man to have a vote. That must have appeared very dangerous to the leaders, who could not tell what would come of an election when every man had a vote. However, on the whole, the leaders retained the control and the confidence of the Army.

On the other hand the opposition between the Army and the Parliament became more and more marked. The Parliament was first weeded out by the leaders of the Army and then sent about its business. Cromwell made one or two experiments with Parliaments, but on the whole he had to rely on military government.

When, after Cromwell's death, the Rump Parliament returned, the people could not respect them or accept their rule. Monk said that soldiers were to receive orders and not to give them, but he could not take his orders from the Rump. He

declared for a new and free Parliament, and the King came back amid universal rejoicing. Bonfires were lighted in the streets of London in contempt of the Rump Parliament. When Charles called his first Parliament it became clear how much the feeling of the people had changed. That Parliament was strongly Royalist; against the Pope, but also against the extreme Puritans; favourable to the Church of England; for government by King and Parliament.

CONCLUSION

The Civil War was in the first place a war of religion, and in the second place a war to bring the King more under the law. The richest parts of the country and the most determined and serious men were on the side of the Parliament. The Parliament proved itself capable of forming and maintaining armies, but not of governing the country. The power passed into the hands of the leaders of the Army, and at length into those of Cromwell alone. The rivalry of England with Holland led to a naval war. Progress was delayed by the Civil War, but it was not stopped. Colonisation went on and we were learning from the Dutch. At the Restoration Church and King seemed to have recovered their power; but the King had learnt that he could not govern without Parliament, and Parliament that it could not govern without a King. The people was tired of the Puritans, but it still hated Popery.

FOR REFERENCE.

CROMWELL'S ARMY. *C. H. Firth.*

PART III

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER VIII

THE NATION AT HOME AND ABROAD

1660-1789

Any history is like a set of moving pictures. The photographer can turn the eye of his machine in different directions; he can group the actors on his stage in different ways; he can leave out what he pleases and include what he chooses. Yet, though the pictures may be cut and arranged, there is no break in the stream of life and happening. At one time the images may be solemn and sad, at another they may be lively and gay; but the movement never stops. The life of the people continues, without interruption or change of habits, though Elizabeth may die or Charles II return from Holland. The dates are only marks upon the roll by which we may know our whereabouts. They do not break the continuity.

Let me use another parable. Imagine a man travelling along the road towards the Land's End.

He travels one continuous path over one continuous earth. When he crosses the boundary of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, there is no sudden change, there is no change at all. And yet, when he gets home, he will remember Dorset by its rounded hills and delicate colouring, Devon by its green valleys, its rough moors and stony tors, Cornwall by its bare inland stretches and rocky coasts. He will feel that each of these counties has a character of its own. The character does not begin with the boundary nor end with the boundary; for instance, the western edge of Dorset resembles parts of Devonshire. The boundaries were made by man for convenience of government, not for the grouping of scenery. And yet each county has its own character, which our traveller will remember, as he remembers the faces and the characters of his friends.

And so with history. When we cross the boundary of 1603 we pass from what is called the Tudor period to what is called the Stewart period. But there is no break, no sudden change. The last years of Elizabeth were very much like the first years of James. And yet the Tudor period differs from the period of James I, and Charles I, and Cromwell, at least as much as one district can differ from another. At the Restoration there is a more sudden change; as if one were to pass from the foothills of a mountain range on to a plain. If the mood of the people had not changed Charles could not have returned. The rejoicings at his return made the change apparent. But the change

of temper in the people had begun some time before the Restoration.

Feeling, as I do, that each of the great periods of our history has a character of its own, I want you to feel this too. And, therefore, I break up my history into blocks, some greater and some smaller, drawing my boundaries, unlike the frontier-line of counties, for the grouping of scenery. The reigns of the first two Stewarts and the Commonwealth form an age complete in itself. It is like one great play with living actors, who shed real blood and weep real tears. The first act is the futile skirmishing of James which irritated his people without advancing his purpose; the second act the deliberate attempt of Charles to impose his will and his law upon a high-spirited nation; the third act is the Civil War working up to the execution of the King. As in Shakespeare's play Julius Cæsar dies in the third act, and another figure, Brutus, afterwards fills the stage, so, in this our fourth act, a more successful tyrant, Cromwell, stands forth after the death of Charles to conquer and rule three nations by his armies; in the fifth act the peoples shake themselves free.

The next period is of even and monotonous progress. There is no dramatic unity, but also no surprising change till we come to the French Revolution.

After the Civil War, after the failure of the Commonwealth, after the Restoration of Charles II, the people could not be as if these great adventures had not occurred. What the nation had done and

suffered in the Civil War could not be forgotten; the people began thereafter to know its own mind, to be conscious of its own purpose. It had learnt that no tyrant could rule it against its will. Charles had failed, Cromwell had failed. It knew that it could be free if it wished to be free, and it was determined to be free. It had learned also the evils of disorder. It had learnt that no man could be free unless all men were orderly, unless all obeyed the law, and unless the laws were just and wise. It had learnt what the Parliament could do and what it could not do; that the Parliament could make laws and manage money, that it could not govern. It had learnt that, though kings might be dangerous and unwise, yet the people could not live without a king. It set to work to drill its kings to be faithful servants of the people.

This work went on steadily from the return of Charles II (1660) till the French Revolution (1789), when the fear of revolution at home, and the danger of foreign conquest, turned the thoughts of the people for twenty-six years (1789-1815) to the necessities of self-defence. The movement of a people is slow; it is a huge thing; someone is injured by every change, change itself is distasteful, therefore every change is opposed; it takes time for the people to get accustomed to any alteration. But gradually, from 1660-1789, the people moved forward to greater freedom and better order. Gradually, both King and Parliament came to feel that power was given to them, not for their own satisfaction, but to carry out the wishes of the people. The

49. Charles II.

people made its purpose felt; and, when a people has a fixed and clear desire, its fulfilment may be delayed, but no man and no class can successfully resist it.

KINGS

One thing is clear in this long period, namely, that Kings did not matter so much as in the past. We had all sorts of Kings and Queens in this time. There was Charles II (49), clever, unscrupulous, indolent, pleasure-loving, who somewhat neglected the defences of his kingdom and took pay from the French King. Charles generally got his own way because he knew so well what the people would stand and how it could be managed. There was James II, who lost his throne because he thought the people would endure what they called Popery. There was William III, the Dutch statesman with a Stewart wife, whose chief interest in the world was to strengthen Holland against the French King. He was fortunate enough to find that the English people also saw an enemy in Louis XIV. There was Queen Anne, a colourless woman, who, by means of the ladies of her bedchamber, was made to carry on the policy of William III.

Then came from Hanover the German Kings, George I, George II, and George III—the last indeed had learnt to be an Englishman. Each of these Kings had a character of his own, and objects of his own. George III aspired to be a real King, and tried to rule Parliament by favours and gifts bestowed upon those members who were called the

King's friends. But the men who matter in the time of the three Georges are not the Kings, but Walpole (50), William Pitt the elder (Lord Chatham) (51), and his son, the younger Pitt. All through the reigns of all these different Kings the

50. Robert Walpole,

51. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

same sort of laws were being passed, the same sort of political strife was going on, the same sort of wars were being waged, the same sort of enterprises were being carried on in all parts of the world. The Kings were coming to matter less and less, whatever George III might attempt to do.

THE COURT

When the King had real power the King's Court was a centre of public life. Charles II lived in public; his courtiers paid their respects to him at his *levée*, that is at his arising from bed. Nowadays a *levée* is a solemn function in the afternoon, when

crowds of men, who are in no sense courtiers, file one by one to make their bow before the King. Then the King's Palace at Whitehall was open to visitors all day long. Any person of standing could obtain admission unless he had incurred the King's displeasure. Men gathered there to gossip about state matters, about the fortunes of this or that minister or favourite, about the King and his private affairs, and about each other. Courtiers followed the King when he drove in Hyde Park, or the Duke when he played Pall Mall—a kind of croquet—in the Park of St. James. Charles II and James II had favours to give away. Men came to Court to push their private interests at the public expense. They "made their court" to the King and to all who had power with him.

But William III had no taste for Court life; the Georges had still less. The offices and favours were given away, not by the Georges but by their ministers. Men ceased to come to Court for benefits to be gained. Receptions, balls, banquets, were held from time to time; but those who attended came by command, and went away when the function was over. The old public Court life was abandoned; the King lived in privacy. Men ceased to wish to come to Court because the King had little power; on the other hand the King lost power because he ceased to keep open house. Lacking the chance of seeking favour from the King the ambitious turned to others. The circle of those who could approach the King in intimacy grew narrow; he lost by disuse the great influence which

he might have retained. Nowadays politics and the Court are things quite separate.

PARLIAMENT AND THE KING

Charles II, very cleverly, left all the disagreeable and unpopular work to his Parliament. It was Parliament that pursued and punished those who were answerable for the death of Charles I. It was Parliament that refused compensation to many of those who had lost their property in the Civil War. Charles had promised freedom of conscience to all those whose conduct did not disturb the peace of the Kingdom. It was Parliament that passed the Act of Uniformity, and thus set up the Church of England again. Two thousand ministers, who refused to accept everything that was in the Book of Common Prayer, lost their livings by this Act. It was Parliament that persecuted the Nonconformists whom Charles would gladly have spared—perhaps because he favoured toleration and loved an easy life; perhaps because he had a secret leaning to the Catholics.

By leaving awkward questions to Parliament Charles avoided many difficulties, but he found that the power which he had thus surrendered was turned against himself. In 1672 he published a Declaration of Indulgence, forbidding that any penalties should be enforced under the Acts against Catholics and Nonconformists. Parliament—his own Cavalier Parliament—made him withdraw the Declaration. By the Test Acts they drove all Catholics from office, and from Parliament; even

James ceased to be High Admiral. They tried to put down the King's small standing army. In 1677 they ordered that the money which they had voted for the navy should be paid into the hands of men appointed by themselves; intending thus to make sure that the money was spent as they desired and not upon the King's pleasures. The Commons impeached—that is, accused for trial before the House of Lords—Danby, the Minister who had signed the secret treaty with Louis XIV, by which Charles was to receive a large sum of money from Louis, though he had just received a grant from Parliament for war with France. The Parliament passed the Habeas Corpus Act (1679) which, by strengthening the existing law, effectively prevented the King or his Ministers from keeping anyone in prison for an indefinite time without bringing him to trial. The Parliament also endeavoured to exclude the Duke of York (afterwards James II) from the throne. For the last four years of his reign Charles managed to govern without a Parliament. He was then struggling to recover the power which in his early years he had allowed to slip away.

The towns were great centres of opposition to the will of Charles II and James II. The towns sent members to Parliament. In order to control the towns, and secure that the members sent should be more to his liking, Charles took away the charters of many towns, including London, and issued new charters, by which the King could turn out at his pleasure any officer elected by the citizens. James II (52) used this power freely. But even thus

52. James II.

the will of the people prevailed. James could get a Parliament that supported the King and the Church of England; he could not get a Parliament that would allow indulgence to Roman Catholics. The Nonconformists would not accept indulgence for themselves if it was also to be given to Papists. However the question might be put to the people the same answer was returned: No Popery. The Lords Lieutenants of the counties were asked by James to supply lists of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists whom the King could trust to do his will. Many Lords Lieutenants refused and were dismissed. The Colleges of Oxford resented the appointment of Papists by the King. Seven Bishops petitioned against James' Declaration of Indulgence. They were accused of libel and acquitted after trial by a London jury. James was defeated and deposed, not merely by a plot or conspiracy, but by the will of the whole people.

THE GREAT AND GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

The Revolution of 1688 is often called "great and glorious." That is rather big talk. It was not great, for it only established more firmly the decisions of the Civil War. It was not very glorious, for the King took fright and fled from the country. But it was useful and necessary. Men did not want Popery. It was clear that if they did not want Popery they could not have a Roman Catholic King. They wished that the King should enforce the law; they did not wish that he should have the power to permit all or anyone to disregard it. They

did not wish that the King should have power to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. They wished that Parliaments should be held frequently, that the election of members of Parliament should be free, and that there should be freedom of speech in Parliament. They were afraid of standing armies, lest the King should use his armed troops to enforce his will contrary to law and against the desires of the people. Most of these great questions, and others of less importance, were settled by the Bill of Rights, which was passed by Parliament in 1689 and accepted by the new King, William III.

The question of a standing army was difficult. It was true that the King might use the army to the danger of the people. It was also true that the people could not be safe without an army, trained and equipped to defend it against foreign enemies. This question was settled by placing the discipline of the army under the control of Parliament. Discipline cannot be maintained in an army unless soldiers can be tried and punished according to rules suitable to soldiers. In 1689 Parliament passed a Mutiny Act, authorising for one year the application of special rules of discipline to a standing army. Ever since, that law has been passed every year, until 1881, when it received the new name of the Army Act. Thus Parliament could, by refusing to pass this act, destroy all legal authority within the Army. Since Parliament could also refuse to vote money to pay the Army the safeguards were complete; and since 1689 no King has used the Army to defeat the law or overawe the people.

One more safeguard was needed. In the reign of James, the towns, the Lords Lieutenants, the Bishops, the juries, showed their independence by resisting the lawless measures of the King. But the Judges showed themselves to be a docile instrument for carrying out the King's will. They bullied the Catholics in the time of the Popish Plot (p. 195), later the followers of Monmouth, and Oates with the other false witnesses. They said that the King had the right to suspend and dispense with laws. That may have been good law; the question was very doubtful; but any Judge who had dared to take the opposite view would have been at the King's mercy, because the King could not only appoint, but also dismiss the Judges. At the end of the reign of William the Act of Settlement was passed to secure the succession to the throne to Anne and other Protestant princes. In this Act there was a clause to prevent the King from dismissing a Judge except for some grave offence. In practice this meant that a Judge could not be dismissed unless both Houses of Parliament passed a resolution requesting that he should be removed. Thus the Judges became independent of the King, and free to decide the law without fear or favour.

Freedom of juries to give their verdict according to their conscience had been obtained even before this time. It had been the practice to fine jurymen who gave a verdict contrary to the direction of the Judge. But in 1670 Bushell, who had been fined, with his fellow jurymen, by the Recorder of London, for refusing to convict two Quakers, and

had refused to pay the fine, was released from prison by the Chief Justice of Charles II, who declared the ground of imprisonment to be insufficient. This made juries free to return a just verdict, and was a great step forward.

THE CONSTITUTION

About the end of the seventeenth century the monarchy of England becomes what is called a constitutional monarchy. Under a constitutional monarchy the King is not free to do what he pleases, but he and his ministers and all other authorities are bound to obey fixed rules. These rules may be laid down by law, written law. Some countries have written constitutions. In England only a few of the rules are set out in formal laws, such as the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. The rest is custom, which is obeyed as if it was law.

Ever since the time of John the people of England had been trying to work out a set of laws and customs to bind its Kings. The rules, which Queen Anne and the Georges obeyed, were not perfect. The rules by which we are governed are not perfect. But the constitution of the eighteenth century is better than the constitution of the sixteenth century, if there was a constitution in the sixteenth century. There is, and there has been, constant change, and, on the whole, at the present time there is more freedom and better order than in the days of any of our forefathers. That we owe

a little to ourselves, but chiefly to those who went before us.

The object of the constitution is twofold. First of all, it must give power to the Government to do all that is necessary for the good of the people. Secondly, it must limit that power by law and custom, so that it cannot be used unjustly or harmfully. These two objects conflict. If you give the Government power to do good you give it also power to do harm. If you diminish its power to do harm you also diminish its power to do good. But it was found by experience more important to prevent the Government, and especially the King and his ministers, from doing harm; they could not be trusted to use unlimited power; and thus our constitution became a system of checks upon the King and his ministers.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to punish the King, except by making war upon him, and that may easily do more harm to the people than to the King. The lawyers said: the King can do no wrong; that is, the King cannot be called to account or punished by law. So the Constitution made the ministers of the King responsible for all that might be done by his orders. Every action of the King had to be adopted as his own by some minister; then if that action were against the law the minister would be held to answer for it. The earliest way of punishing ministers was by impeachment, in which the House of Commons are the accusers, and the House of Lords are the Judges. By this means Latimer and Neville, the ministers of Edward III,

were brought to trial. But after the Judges had become independent of the King, anyone who had suffered wrong by the act of a minister could obtain redress from the law courts. Further, in the eighteenth century ministers became responsible not only to the law but to Parliament. It had become impossible to govern without the support of Parliament. And, therefore, any minister who lost the support of Parliament found it necessary sooner or later to resign his office. The fear of losing power and profit made, and still makes, ministers respectful to Parliament.

In the eighteenth century Parliament not only voted money, it voted money for certain stated purposes; and it took measures to secure that the money was spent for those purposes and no others. Charles II spent part of the money voted for his navy upon his pleasures. In his time Parliament began to demand a strict supervision of the accounts. In the eighteenth century this was worked out and became effective.

You may say: "I see that the King and his ministers must be prevented from doing wrong. But cannot Parliament do wrong, and why is Parliament not checked?" There is, in fact, little check upon Parliament. Parliament can pass any law, and make arrangements that it shall be carried out. There is some danger that Parliament may do wrong. Parliament often has done wrong. But even in the worst times of our Parliament—and the eighteenth century was not a good time in our Parliament—the Parliament had a feeling for the

will of the people; they stopped short of such injustice as would create general indignation. The worst injustice that was done by them—for instance, to the Catholics in Ireland—was done at least by the consent, if not by the will, of the people of England. The people itself may desire to do wrong, and in that case I do not see how the wrong is to be prevented. But each one of us by becoming wise can add a little wisdom to the wisdom of the people. That is one reason why we go to school, and the best reason for learning history.

PARTIES

There is, however, one check on the power of Parliament, namely, the party system, which began when it was proposed to exclude the Duke of York (afterwards James II) from the succession to the throne; the country was then divided into two parties; the Exclusionists, and the Abhorrers, that is, those who professed their abhorrence of excluding from the throne its lawful heir. These parties continued to exist after the question of exclusion was dead, and got the names of Whigs and Tories. William III tried to choose his ministers from both parties, but he found it impossible to govern in this way, and was obliged to form a ministry from one party only. Under the Georges this was almost always done. The Tories stood on the whole for the old system of Church and King; the Whigs stood for the Protestant Succession, and were perhaps rather more inclined to limit the power of the Crown. But the opinions of the parties and their

behaviour changed from time to time. The chief fact is that there were two parties, constantly opposed to each other. If the Whigs were in power the Tories would find out all the faults that could be brought against their opponents, and no real injustice could be hidden, unless it were such as both parties agreed to maintain.

This was all the more important since, in the eighteenth century, the great nobles had all the power. They composed the House of Lords, and they had great influence over the elections to the House of Commons. In many, perhaps in most of the towns, there was some great man who could secure the election of his nominee. The counties were more free, but even in them the great landlords had the authority. If there had not been two parties the ruling class might have become insufferable. As it was, the feelings and the interests of the people still counted for something. Each party had a vague feeling that the support of the people was worth having.

CORRUPTION

Though the King and his ministers were obliged to bow to the will of the Parliament, it was possible to influence members of Parliament by gifts of rich offices and actually by presents of money. The votes of members of Parliament could be bought and sold. Nowadays we have got rid of Parliamentary corruption, though it may be that there are other evils in its place. In the eighteenth century it was impossible to govern without bribery.

Walpole was its greatest master; he said that every man had his price. George III (53), when he tried to manage Parliament for himself, used methods which we should condemn as corrupt. We have improved in many ways since the eighteenth century; but in no way perhaps so much as in getting rid of the buying and selling of votes in Parliament.

THE CABINET AND THE PRIME MINISTER

From the time of Charles II what we call the Cabinet system had been growing up. A Cabinet is a small council of ministers who act together as one body to pursue a common policy. At the head of the Cabinet is the Prime Minister, whom all the ministers should obey in great matters, though in matters of less importance each manages his own business—the army, the navy, foreign policy, whatever it may be. All the Cabinet should stand together; if any minister entirely disapproves of any great thing that is to be done he should resign. If the Cabinet fails to agree within itself, or if it loses the support of Parliament, it should resign, and the King will then send for another Prime Minister. This system was worked out in the eighteenth century; it was strengthened, it is said, because George I did not understand English and therefore could not preside over his own Cabinet.

The two great points are: that the Cabinet should all hold together and answer to Parliament as one body; and that each minister should take his orders from the Prime Minister and not from the King. George III tried to be his own Prime Minister—

53. George III.
From the Portrait by A. Ramsay (?) in the National Portrait Gallery.

that is, he tried to make the several ministers of the Cabinet come to him for orders instead of going to the Prime Minister; if he had succeeded he would have destroyed the Cabinet system. Gradually the Prime Minister has become more and more powerful; and now it is held that the King must take the advice that his responsible ministers give him. And the Prime Minister must be a man whom the majority of the House of Commons will follow.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

All through the reign of Charles II and James II religion was mixed up with politics. On the one hand there was the fear of the Catholics and of what they might attempt. On the other hand there was dislike of the Nonconformists, who persisted in holding their own opinions and using their own worship. Under Charles II severe acts were passed against the Nonconformists. Their religious assemblies were forbidden. Ministers of religion who did not accept the Book of Common Prayer, renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and take an oath against resisting the King on any pretext, were not allowed to teach in schools or live within five miles of any borough town. The Test Acts made it impossible either for Catholics or Nonconformists to hold any office under the Crown, or sit in Parliament, without forswearing themselves or acting against their conscience. At length, in 1689, an Act was passed, the Toleration Act, which allowed Nonconformists who could accept the chief part of the teaching of the Church of England to

conduct their own worship under a license; but Catholics were excepted from this.

On the other hand, when William became King many of the most upright men of the Church of England would not take the oath of allegiance to the new King; these were called non-jurors, because they refused to swear this oath. They, like all the others, had taken the oath against resisting the King. The others found some excuse for the resistance that had been offered to James. The non-jurors looked for no pretext. James II, whatever his faults, had in their eyes been unlawfully deposed. These men retired from their bishoprics or their livings, and went quietly away to dwell in obscurity and some in poverty.

THE POPISH PLOT

The English were afraid of the Catholics and rightly suspected Charles II of friendship to the old religion, but this fear became a panic through the false stories of a Popish plot. In 1678 a man called Titus Oates (32) delivered to the Privy Council—and also to a Justice of the Peace in London, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey—a story of a plot of Papists to kill the King and massacre the Protestants with the help of the French army. Oates was a man of bad character, who had been ordained in the English Church but had afterwards entered a Jesuit seminary at St. Omer. A few days after the visit of Oates Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was found murdered on Primrose Hill. This mysterious murder has never been explained; men thought that Godfrey had

been killed because he knew the secret of the plot; they thought that the secret must be real and terrible. Oates became a great personage, and lived at the public expense. Many Roman Catholics were brought to trial on his evidence, and some were executed, including Lord Stafford. At length, however, it became plain that Oates could not be believed, and juries refused to convict. In the reign of James II Oates was tried, condemned to be whipped, to stand in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life. But William's first Parliament released him and gave the rascal a pension.

The murder of Godfrey seems to prove that something was wrong. Certain men were condemned to death for his murder, chiefly on the evidence of a man called Prance, which was almost certainly false. It is strange that, although Prance was convicted of perjury, he was allowed to go abroad unmolested. But, whether there was a plot or no plot, it is quite certain that Oates was a liar; and the chief importance of the panic is that it embittered men's minds against the Catholics, and perhaps made James II think that the Catholics would not be safe unless they were in power.

STATE TRIALS

The savage behaviour of the Judges in these and other trials of the time—such as the trials of the unhappy followers of Monmouth (54)—still fills us with wonder and horror. The accused was not allowed to have a lawyer to speak for him. He was assailed by the Judge with infamous abuse, he

was interrupted, brow-beaten, contradicted, and treated as a criminal before his offence had been proved. But it must be remembered that this was a time when plots might succeed, and revolutions did occur. The Government of the time was never secure. Even in the time of the Georges there were two attempts —in 1715 and 1745—to restore the Stewarts to the throne. When men are afraid—and men in those days had good reason to be afraid—they are likely to be cruel and unjust. Nowadays we fear no plots, we fear no revolutions. We can afford to be just and gentle with those who are accused of crimes. We think ourselves safe, and therefore we are ready to be merciful. The English law now assumes that a man is innocent until he is proved to be guilty; it is easier for a guilty man to escape punishment than for an innocent man to be condemned, though that also has happened, even in these days.

54. The Duke of Monmouth.

RELIGION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Religion should be a comfort and a source of strength to each of us separately, and to all of us together. When it is mixed up with politics, the religion is debased, and the politics lose sight of

their proper aim—the common everyday welfare of the nation. All through the seventeenth century religion and politics were intermingled. Thus we should expect to find that in the eighteenth century religion had fallen low. And so it was.

Religion is for each of us. Each of us is different from his neighbours; each of us, therefore, needs some liberty to follow his religion in his own way. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the bonds of the Catholic Church having been broken, this claim of freedom led not only to a separate Church for England, but to several sects, which refused to conform to the worship and the religion of the common Church, and are therefore called Nonconformist. But religion is also for all together. Only hermits are content to worship by themselves; all of us who have any religious feelings find benefit in worshipping with others. If the whole people could join in one common worship it would be best. In the Middle Ages there was one Church, one worship, one faith, for all western and central Europe.

By the Reformation we lost the one Church for western Europe. But good men in England still held fast to the idea of one Church for all Englishmen. Kings and politicians also tried to prevent divisions in the Church, because they did not want the nation to be weakened. There were many very good men in the English Church in the seventeenth century who wrote beautiful sermons, and prayers, and works of religion. But the undue zeal of some, and the worldly aims of politicians, brought strife

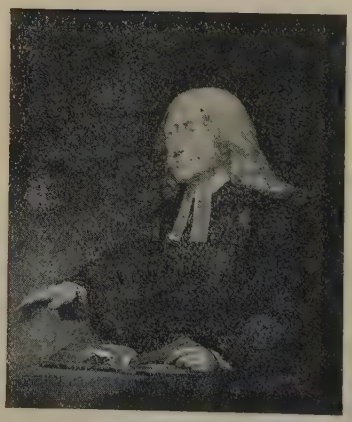
into religion. Those who felt the need to follow religion in their own way became Nonconformists, were persecuted, and persecuted others in their turn when they had the chance.

Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Church of England was in a bad position. On the one hand almost all the nation feared and hated the Pope and his works. On the other hand the Nonconformists pressed upon the Church and nibbled away its followers. Indifference and ignorance nibbled away many more. The Church feared the Papists, it feared the Nonconformists. It had been established by the King and by the Parliament; it therefore was obliged to bow to the lay authority and seek its favour. Only by supporting the King and the Parliament could the Church hope for security. Only by pleasing great men could clergymen get livings or become Bishops. The lords who managed the kingdom feared religious zeal; they had not forgotten what religious fanatics had done in the time of Cromwell and James II. In these circumstances it was not likely that there would be much plain speaking to sinners, much care for the poor, or much zeal of any kind among the clergy. The clergy desired peace, they were expected to keep quiet, and they became timid and lazy. Livings were treated as family property, and given to the younger sons of the gentry, who often lived away from their parishes and left a poor curate to do the work. Fortunate clergy would hold two or three livings and perhaps a bishopric or a deanery as well.

Thought was free enough. There were clergymen in the Church of England who had almost ceased to believe in Christ, though they still professed to believe in God. No one troubled about their opinions so long as they did not create a stir or a scandal. Of course, there were many good, many learned, and many self-sacrificing clergy; but the general state of the Church was indolence and indifference. Yet there were models of humble virtue, like Goldsmith's parish priest:—

"A man he was, to all the country dear,
And passing rich on forty pounds a year;
Remote from town he ran his godly race,
Nor ere had changed, nor wished to change his place;
Unskilful he to fawn, or seek for power
By doctrines fashioned to the passing hour;
Far other aims his heart had learnt to prize,
More bent to raise the wretched than to rise."

JOHN WESLEY



55. John Wesley.
After J. Jackson.

Into such a church was ordained in 1725 John Wesley. (55.) After that he lived for a time in Oxford, where he and his brother, Charles, collected about them a society of serious young men for prayer, and conversation, and study, who, because of the strict rules they followed, were

called Methodists. He then went on a mission to Georgia, where he hoped to convert the Indians, but was disappointed and returned. After great searchings of heart he was convinced that he had found the true meaning of Christianity, and set forth to preach. He did not profess to teach anything other than that which the Church believed; but his zeal was unwelcome to the authorities, and he was soon forbidden to preach in the churches. Thus he took to preaching in the open air, and encouraged others to do the same. For fifty years he travelled all over Great Britain and Ireland, preaching chiefly to the poor whom the Church had neglected. He would ride 5,000 miles in the year, reading as he went, and would preach twenty sermons a week.

He did not stir up political strife, and therefore he was not much troubled; but his followers had to register themselves as Nonconformists in order to obtain license to open their meeting-houses under the Act of Toleration.

Wesley never left the Church of England; he considered that his teaching was that of the Church; towards the end of his life some clergy admitted him to their churches; but his followers were more ready for separation. He had from the beginning encouraged laymen to preach, which was at least contrary to the custom of the Church; and before his death, in 1791, he had ordained "presbyters" and given them power to administer the Holy Communion. Under the law of the Church only a Bishop can ordain.

FULHAM

Thus, almost against his will, Wesley had founded a great new church, a Methodist Church, which after his death became separate from the Church of England, and again divided itself into several bodies. Assisted by Whitefield, a great preacher, and Charles Wesley, his brother, who wrote many of our best known hymns, for instance, "Jesu, Lover of my soul," Wesley obtained an enormous influence. The effect of his preaching was such that many who heard him fell into convulsions, which were thought to be caused by the workings of the Holy Spirit. Since his death the Churches which sprang from his Society have continued to grow, and number many millions in all parts of the world. His work did much in length of time to stir up the Church of England; and by founding and maintaining schools he helped the instruction of the unlearned classes. His success proves that, although the upper ranks and the clergy were indifferent, the people was still ready to answer to the call of religion.

THE QUAKERS

The Quakers began as a sect of enthusiasts under George Fox during the Civil War. Their proper name is the Society of Friends; Quakers is only a nickname. They suffered with other Nonconformists under the Restoration, and William Penn, their leader, founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1682 for all those who believed in one God. By degrees their gentle manners and upright conduct overcame the prejudice against them, though their refusal to disobey the words of Scripture by taking an oath

in a court of justice often got them into trouble, They, like the Wesleyans, kept alive the spirit of religion in an irreligious age.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

Though the law was still heavy upon Nonconformists during the eighteenth century, in practice they received more and more toleration. The laws against Roman Catholics were also enforced with less severity, but the laws against them were harsher than those against the Nonconformists. After the false Popish Plot proclaimed by Titus Oates, and the real Popish Plot of James II, the laws passed against Roman Catholics, both in England and in Ireland, were such as terrified men would make.

It was high treason for a priest or Jesuit to remain for three days in England without taking an oath admitting the King's supremacy over the English Church. It was high treason to convert or be converted to the Roman Catholic faith. A priest convicted of saying mass was liable to perpetual imprisonment. No Roman Catholic could teach publicly or privately; none could hold a commission in the Army or the Navy, or vote, or hold any public office, or act as a lawyer, or be admitted to any University. Those who refused to swear to the King's supremacy over the Church were liable to heavy fines and to loss of property. The Justices of the Peace could fine any man who did not attend his parish church. A Roman Catholic could not acquire or inherit landed

property. These laws were partly evaded and partly ignored. But they might at any time be brought into working by a malicious person.

In England these laws only affected a small minority. In Ireland five-sevenths of the whole population were excluded from all professions and all public service. The most vigorous and independent Irishmen went abroad and took service with the French King or some other foreign state. At first an attempt was made to drive all Roman Catholic priests and Bishops from Ireland. Later, they were allowed to act under close regulation and supervision; they went about in disguise and held schools under the hedges. The Irish Catholics were at the mercy of Protestant judges and Protestant juries, and were treated as a conquered population. The property of no Catholic was safe. The Protestants kept alive the memory of William III who had been victorious in their religious war. They called themselves Orangemen, and formed themselves into Orange societies, perpetuating the hatred of Popery and Papists.

Yet even in Ireland, even for Papists, the movement in favour of toleration was progressing. In 1778 many of these laws were repealed for England; but the feeling of the ignorant was so strong against Popery that Lord George Gordon was able to rouse the mob against the new laws, and riots took place in London (1780). Chapels were destroyed, prisons were broken open, houses were burnt, and the soldiers had to be called out. Before the mob had been dispersed five hundred were killed

and wounded; and, when order had been restored, twenty-one of the ringleaders were condemned and executed. Nevertheless, some relief was extended to Scotland and Ireland in 1793, though the Catholics were not entirely freed from these harsh and unjust laws until much later. George III was very obstinate and would not allow Catholics to sit in Parliament. His ministers gave way to him for fear of disturbing his mind; you know that he was subject to fits of madness.

FOREIGN POLICY

There is nothing more perplexing for young historians than foreign policy; and I am very sorry for those young people who are asked in examination to compare, for instance, the foreign policy of Cromwell with that of Charles II. In foreign policy much seems to depend upon the caprice of this man and that man, much upon the effect of this marriage and that marriage; alliances are formed for the purposes of the moment and then abandoned; and the details of treaties slip from the memory very easily, even if they have been understood. But I think I can make you see the nature of English policy from the accession of Charles II to the French Revolution, and the objects which the people desired and attained, though I shall not trouble you with the methods by which those ends were reached.

When Kings were powerful, foreign policy was left to them and to their ministers; the strongest King needed the support of his people; but that

support was easy to obtain if he could show to his subjects glorious conquest, or claims that appeared to be just, or danger from foreign enemies, or if he appealed to their religious feelings. Elizabeth knew quite well what her people wanted; it wanted to strike a blow for the Protestants on the continent; it wanted to shake off the rule of Spain in the open sea. These ends she pursued and attained in her own way, and at her own time.

James I thought that he could obtain what he desired without the help of his people; therefore he did nothing abroad, and his son-in-law was driven from the Palatinate, a homeless wanderer. Charles I was busy doing, not what his people wanted, but what they did not want; therefore he also did nothing abroad. When, after the conquest of Scotland and Ireland, the English Commonwealth stood armed and powerful, there were two things that the people wanted: freedom and, if needful, supremacy upon the sea; and a blow struck against the Catholics. For the command of the sea the Dutch were our chief rivals; therefore war was made on the Dutch. When Cromwell became the sole master of the kingdoms, there were two Catholic Powers which England might attack—France and Spain. But France was not then powerful on the sea or beyond the seas; France also tolerated Protestants. Therefore Cromwell made an agreement with France and struck at Spain. Spain was not so strong as she had been, therefore he had an easy conquest in Jamaica, though he failed at Hayti, through bad preparation. Thus

56. The Dutch Fleet sailing up the Thames, 1667.

Cromwell by one blow hit the Catholics and the power of Spain in the western seas.

Charles II had his own ideas of foreign policy. But he had the royal gift of knowing his people's mind. He married a Portuguese princess, and assisted Portugal to maintain her freedom from Spain, whose rule she had shaken off in 1640. We thus obtained the island of Bombay, a stepping-stone to our Indian Empire. The Dutch were our arrogant rivals in the Indian trade and in Africa; they were also the enemies of Portugal in the East. We became a big brother to Portugal. Ever since that time Portugal has been a friend of England; with the help of Portugal we wore down Napoleon; and in the war that began in 1914, little Portugal—as she now is—very nearly made war on great Germany for no reason that one can see except friendship for England.

For trade and sea-power, English jealousy of the Dutch was at first the ruling feeling after the Restoration. Charles II made war twice upon the Dutch. (56.) But the people then became more jealous of the French. The trade of France was prospering under Colbert, and the fleet of France was becoming formidable. Charles had to do something to satisfy his people, so he made the Triple Alliance of Sweden, Holland, and England, against the French; but meantime he concluded a secret treaty with Louis XIV, and took his money. By these and similar means he sold his country to France; but, Catholic as he was at heart, the Protestant feeling of his people forced him to marry two of the

Duke of York's daughters to Protestant princes—Mary to the Prince of Orange and Anne to Prince George of Denmark.

If James II had succeeded in his plans, he must have been driven into the arms of France, where Henry IV's Edict of Nantes, giving toleration to Protestants, had been revoked in the same year that James ascended the throne (1685). But he failed, and the ruler of the Dutch — a bitter enemy of the French —became King of England. He found his new people ready to be friends with the Dutch, whom they no longer feared, jealous of the ambition of Louis XIV and the rising commerce of the French and sympathetic with the Protestants whom Louis had driven from his land. A new Hundred Years War begins in 1689 between France and England, with long intervals of peace, but renewed again and again. The real object of these wars, the object which commended them to the people, was dominion of the seas and the possession of North America and afterwards of India. Religion

57. Louis XIV.

counted for something at first, but for very little afterwards.

Louis XIV(57) had married a Spanish princess, and Charles II of Spain had no children. It was the haunting fear of William III that, on the death of Charles of Spain, Louis should lay claim to the Spanish dominions. France would thus acquire all the Spanish possessions in the New World and overwhelm the Low Countries. As we feared at one time that the Germans should seize Calais, so the English of that time feared that the French should seize the Netherlands. Thus Holland and England, but lately bitter rivals, became allies. William's fear was realised before his end. On the death of Charles (1700) Louis claimed the throne of Spain for his grandson Philip. William tried to meet this danger by treaties for the division of the Spanish dominions, but he was gone when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out. The instinct of the English people felt that the excessive power of France would be a danger, that the dominion of the seas was at stake, and in order to secure what Germany has called "a place in the sun" we fought with France in the Low Countries, in Germany, and in Spain.

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), that ended the War of the Spanish Succession, was not so good a treaty for us as it might have been. But that colonies, trade, and power on the sea, were main objects of this war was plain, even in that treaty. The French fortified harbour of Dunkirk, which threatened the English in the narrow seas, was to be destroyed.

Acadie, the province on the sea to the south of the St. Lawrence, which included what we now call Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, was ceded to England, with Newfoundland. From Spain the English received the privilege of selling African slaves to the Spanish dominions in the New World. This was called the *Asiento*, and seems to us a wicked compact; but the men of that day did not think that black men had any rights, and they treated them as cattle. A limited trade with Spanish America was also allowed to England; the English used this as the thin end of the wedge.

After this great war Europe was exhausted, and we had peace for many years. The next war was clearly a war for commerce. The Spanish claimed the right to search British vessels, which were constantly smuggling goods into the Spanish dominions. They ill treated our sailors; and when a captain called Jenkins came home with a story that a Spanish customs officer had torn off his ear the whole people was indignant. This was a war for the freedom of trade. It was a people's war. Walpole, who was in power, did not wish to make war; but he was forced into it by an angry people. It began as a war with Spain; it became also a war with France. It was waged upon the continent; it was also waged in North America, where France was becoming a dangerous rival of England. The French had established themselves strongly on the Mississippi in the colony of Louisiana, and by their colony of Canada they held the river St. Lawrence. The English held the eastern seaboard, but it was

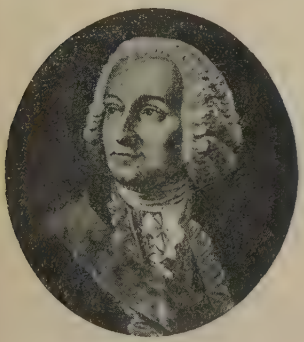
the aim of the French to join up the St. Lawrence and the great lakes with the Mississippi by a chain of fortified posts, and thus cut off the English from westward expansion.

This war was also waged in India, where the great East India Company, established in 1600, had gradually become a power in the land. The Portuguese were the first of European nations to win power in India; Portugal was a possession of Spain from 1580 to 1640, and during their long war with Spain the Dutch seized many of the Portuguese possessions in India. The English East India Company was eager for trade; it was unwilling to make war, or to obtain possessions. But India was not a safe country for peaceful folk, and our foreign rivals, the Dutch and afterwards the French, did not hesitate to use armed force. Fortified possessions were necessary for the prosperity of English trade. The English built Fort St. George at Madras in 1641; the East India Company took over Bombay in 1668; they were obliged at last to fortify their settlement at Calcutta.

But it was the attacks of France that drove the English Company to conquest in India. The French East India Company was started by Colbert in 1664. From the first it was a royal not a private enterprise. Perhaps for this reason it was long before it became a dangerous rival to the English. But after 1720 French influence began to grow. Their settlements at Pondicherry and Chandernagore prospered. Dupleix (58), the great French Governor, took advantage of the War of the Austrian

Succession (1740-8) to attack the English. Madras was taken; the English then recovered ground and attacked Pondicherry, but without success. At the end of the war Madras was restored to the English.

But the peace in India was a sham peace. The country was broken up since the fall of the splendid but loosely-jointed Empire of the Moguls. The



58. Dupleix.

59. Robert Clive.

English and the French alike sought alliances among the native potentates. The French rapidly built up a great power, and though there was peace at home the English fought against them as the allies of Indian princes. Thanks to the genius of Clive (59), a young writer or clerk in the service of the East India Company, who trained and armed Indian soldiers in the European fashion, success was with the English. The war dragged on until it merged into the Seven Years' War which opened in 1756, and the final struggle between the French and the English for supremacy in India began.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The Seven Years' War (1756-63) looked at in one way was a war of Austria in alliance with France to deprive Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, of his gains, ill-gotten by earlier wars. We helped Frederick, not for any love of that stubborn fighter, but because he was for the time an enemy of France. If we had not helped him, Prussia might have been defeated and many things would have been different. But the genius of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, discerned that greater things were at stake. He inspired the people with his faith. Chatham was the people's minister. He left the Parliament to Newcastle's management. He revered the King, but he relied on the support of the people. He gave us glorious success; it may be said that he gave us Canada and India; and if he had not broken down in health it is probable that we should not have lost the other North American colonies.

Chatham said: "I will conquer Canada on the battlefields of Europe." He was not allowed to carry his war to its conclusion. But at the end Canada was English. The French power was broken in North America. The whole of the Northern Continent, except Florida and Louisiana, was open to English expansion. Meanwhile Clive and Lawrence were destroying the French power in the Indian peninsula. Pondicherry was taken, and, although it was given back at the end of the war, its fortifications were destroyed.

The English were thus fairly launched on their

60. Part of Cheringhee, Calcutta; about 1780.

61. Fort St. George, Madras; about 1780.

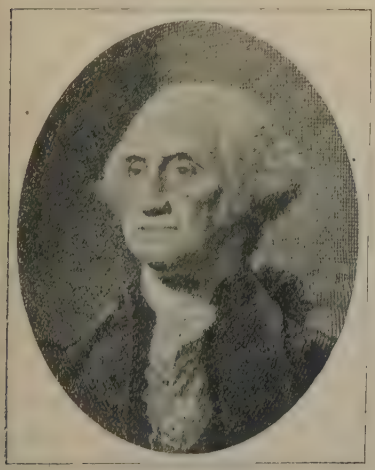
career of conquest in India. Not deliberately, but as a necessary condition of self-defence, as a necessary consequence of their position at the centres of trade, the English were led on, step by step, till the whole country south of the great mountains came under British rule, or British predominance. To this we came, not by the deliberate policy of our kings or ministers, but by the national impulse of our men for adventure, enterprise, and trade, and by the instinct of the people to support the adventurers. Chatham saw the national aims most clearly, but even he did not see them all. (60, 61.)

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Twenty years after the Peace of Paris (1763) the French had their revenge. The English possessions on the North American coast were organised in thirteen self-governing States. They paid no taxes to the home government. On the other hand they were forced to do the chief part of their trade with England. In return the English power protected them. It was for them that Chatham broke the power of France in North America; indeed, by removing from them this danger he made it possible for them to shake off the British authority.

We can see now what was in the mind of the colonies, and of the home government, when the quarrel which led to the War of American Independence arose. The home government said: "We have spent our money, our ships, our men, on a war to free the Americans from the attacks of the

French. It is right that they should contribute to the cost. The King and his Parliament rule over North America as over Great Britain. Let the British Parliament vote taxes to be paid by the North American colonies. That will be fair." The colonists said: "We have never paid taxes to the King; we tax ourselves here and spend the money at home; we are not represented in the British Parliament; we ought not to be taxed without our own consent. Let us refuse to pay these taxes, and rather than pay tax on our tea we will throw it into Boston Harbour." There was a sound principle on either side; a wise statesman would have found means to avoid the quarrel; but the King and his statesmen were not wise, and the war was fought out.



62. George Washington.

This was not a people's war; the people of England had no heart for it; it was badly conducted. Nevertheless, the Americans would have had no chance in the end if the French and the Spaniards had not taken a hand against us. Thus they got their revenge and we lost our American colonies, and learnt,

after a time, more wisdom. We kept Canada, and the neighbouring provinces, and our small remainder in the north has spread westward to the Pacific. It is a noble fragment, and has a great future before it. But if we had possessed in the eighteenth century the wisdom that we learnt in the nineteenth century, the whole of North America might have been filled with flourishing British colonies, governing themselves in freedom, and devotedly attached to the mother country which protected them in their infancy and gave them liberty. (62.)

RESULTS OF BRITISH POLICY

In the eighteenth century we must begin to speak of British policy, for in 1707 Scotland had been united to England under one Parliament. Scotland retained her own law, her own courts of justice, and her own Presbyterian Church, settled since 1690. But after 1707 Scotland shared in the policy, the trade, the enterprise, the wars, the colonies of England. The influence of Scotland on British policy was not so great as it afterwards became. England was then the more powerful partner, far more than she is now. The influence of Scotland was further weakened by the division between Highlanders and Lowlanders—a division which even now is of much importance, but then amounted to a division into two separate nations. The Lowlanders were and are chiefly Angles, closely related in speech and character to the English. The Highlanders are Celts, with a few Scandinavians, and with a strong blend of more primitive races. They

lived then under their old clan government, and even now are very different from the men of the Lowlands. They clung to the Stewart Pretenders after all others had abandoned them. Thus there was not one Scotland but two Scotlands in those days. Still, if we speak of English policy in the eighteenth century, we must remember that the policy of England in that age was also the policy of Scotland.

If you neglect the intrigues of statesman against statesman and party against party, British policy in the eighteenth century is clear to see. Its object was trade, and opportunity for trade. As a means to trade freedom of passage on the sea was needed. The seas were not free to the weak, and therefore strength on the sea was needed. The country of North America was uncultivated, its people savage; therefore, to make use of it colonies must be developed. The country of India was unsafe, and grew more and more insecure; therefore, strong posts were needed and alliances with native princes were desirable. Trade with Spanish dominions was still restricted; therefore we sometimes fought with Spain. But France was our great rival in the eighteenth century, as Holland had been in the first seventy years of the seventeenth century. Therefore, our chief wars were with France, and they were pursued with pertinacity. The people felt that its livelihood was at stake, and because the will of the people was behind our rulers our wars were generally successful. In the eighteenth century the people built up

for itself a goodly heritage, which we at this time enjoy.

It seems a rough and wasteful way of earning a livelihood—to fight by sea and land in all the seas and on all the continents. But there was no other way. In the course of our career we committed sundry crimes, in ignorance and blindness rather than through lust of wickedness. The greatest of these was the slave trade, for which we have since atoned by setting slaves free, and putting down the slave trade wherever our hand can reach. The countries which we have conquered we have improved and enriched; we have learnt to respect and spare the native populations under our rule; even India we conquered chiefly by the aid of Indian princes and Indian troops. If our strength endures, we have reason to hope that the British empire as a home of peace, justice, and liberty, will be worthy of all the blood and tears that it has cost.

CONCLUSION

From the Restoration of Charles II to the French Revolution there is one continuous development. Parliament asserted its power; the Government was brought more and more under the law. We had at last what may be rightly called a Constitution. The people felt its will; it was a will to be free, under the law. Our governors learnt that it was their duty and their strength to carry out what the people desired.

At first politics were mixed up with religion, to the disadvantage both of religion and politics. The

Church of England grew slavish and timid. John Wesley, almost alone, raised his voice among the people. The result was a revival of religion, but another division of the Church.

In foreign policy the will of the people was felt. They desired opportunity for trade and freedom on the seas. To secure this we waged war in Europe, and America, and India. Our first rivals were the Dutch; but the French afterwards became more dangerous. At the end we had gained Canada, but we had lost the thirteen American colonies; and in India we had laid the foundations of a supremacy which was not fully completed till the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the period changes were beginning, in agriculture, in industry, in politics, of which I shall speak in my last volume.

For Reference.

The Expansion of England. *Sir J. R. Seeley.* Macmillan & Co.

The Popish Plot. *John Pollock.* Duckworth & Co.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

1660-1789

Nowadays thousands of men and women spend all their time counting everything that concerns the nation and can be put into figures. Every man, woman, and child is counted once in ten years—this counting we call the Census. Every marriage, every birth, every death, is counted. Every ton of goods that comes into the country and every ton that goes out is set down, the values are estimated, and the totals are added up. We know how many tons of shipping are afloat to serve us, how often the ships come and go, and how many men are needed to work them. All these figures and many more are put down in books, arranged and re-arranged, and a number of wise men spend their time in trying to find out exactly what all those figures mean. Hence we know that each year there are more citizens in these islands, that year by year they make more things, sell more things, buy more things, and possess more things. Such figures are useful to those who have to govern the country; though they do not and cannot teach us whether the people is happier, wiser, and better,

they can tell us whether it is richer, more numerous, more powerful.

In the Middle Ages such knowledge was lacking; right up to the end of the eighteenth century it was very imperfect. The survey of Doomsday Book excites our wonder and our interest because it is the earliest record that tells us anything about our people as a whole. But neither William the Conqueror nor any King earlier than Charles II could even guess the number of his people; the Kings did not know what the people's wealth might be; at most, they knew the numbers of their soldiers in time of war, and the total amount of their own revenue, though even such figures were not often trustworthy. In the time of Richard II it was thought that there were forty thousand parishes in England; but when the tax-gatherers went to seek those forty thousand parishes they found only nine thousand.

Doomsday Book is concerned with land and the revenue of land, but, by accident as it were, it enables us to make a guess at the number of human beings then living in England. There may have been then about two millions. At the Restoration curious people were beginning to reckon and calculate; from their figures we can estimate that the population was not much more or less than five millions; in the middle of the eighteenth century it was about six millions. To-day there are more than thirty-six millions in England and Wales. In 700 years the population may have increased threefold. In 150 years it has increased sixfold, besides

the millions who have gone to our colonies beyond the seas. A more numerous people may be or may not be a better people; but it should be more powerful; it can raise more money in taxes; it can put a larger army in the field, a larger navy on the sea.

INCREASE OF POPULATION

What was the cause of this great and rapid increase? Having grown so slowly in the seven hundred years before, how was the people of England able to grow so fast since George III became King?

I cannot pretend to give you a complete explanation. People married in the Middle Ages as they do now, and they had larger families than are common to-day. If many are born and nevertheless population does not rapidly increase, it is clear that many must die otherwise than by old age—that is, chiefly by disease, war, or famine. No doubt disease was much more deadly right up to the end of the eighteenth century than it is now. You have all heard of the Great Plague of 1665, in which about a fifth part of the population of London died; the dockyard towns and the eastern counties also suffered great losses at the same time. But you probably do not know that in the reign of James I, in that of Charles I, and during the Civil War and Commonwealth, the country was seldom free from plague for more than ten or twelve years. Small-pox was in that time a great scourge, and did not spare the highest. Queen Mary, wife of William III, died of small-pox, which was feared by the young

and beautiful, because, when it did not kill, it often left the face disfigured by hideous scars. Typhus, a disease which is bred in dirt, flourished in the filthy conditions of the towns; there is little, if any, typhus in England to-day. Nowadays we think there is something wrong if out of a thousand people more than twenty die in any year. In the Middle Ages the death rate in any year was probably not less than sixty in the thousand. But the growth of population began before there was any great improvement in public health. It was not until the nineteenth century that men began to learn that disease could be avoided by cleanliness, fresh air, good water, and good drains. After these things had been improved more children survived to grow up, and men lived longer; but this does not fully explain the increase.

The population of England was not much diminished by war. The Thirty Years' War in Germany probably reduced the population by one half; but we had no wars or rebellions in England of that kind. Even the Wars of the Roses and the Civil War cannot have done more than stop the natural increase.

Famine and scarcity were more serious. In the Middle Ages the people lived upon the produce of their own land; little food came from foreign countries. A general failure of the harvest would cause a famine. But the climate in different parts of England is so various that general famine was rare in this country. There were seven years of famine in the reign of Edward II; there must often have

been local scarcity, from time to time there was general scarcity; but we look in vain for general famines between the reign of Edward II and the wars of Napoleon.

It is not exactly clear how the population was prevented from increasing. But it is certain that a much larger population could not have lived in early days. A country cannot support more inhabitants than it can feed, clothe, house, and employ. It must find work for all its men; food, clothing, and shelter for all its men, women, and children. In the days of Charles II this country provided necessaries for about five millions of men, women, and children. To-day it provides for the needs of more than thirty-six millions. The difference is due, directly and indirectly, to the increase in our foreign trade. Our foreign trade enables us to feed, and clothe, and house our added millions. And those who are thus fed and clothed find employment in making things to sell abroad, and work in a thousand ways to supply the further needs of each other.

FOREIGN TRADE

You rise in the morning from cotton sheets, woven from fibre grown in America, India, or Egypt. The woollen clothes that you put on may come from the backs of Australian sheep. The bread for your breakfast is very likely from Canadian, Argentine, Russian, or Indian wheat. The flooring, the rafters, of your school, the wood of your desks, have come across the water—from Canada perhaps, or from Norway. The paper of your books and

that on which you write is made of wood-pulp from beyond the seas, or of esparto grass from North Africa or Spain. Your food, and the raw material of all that you use, are brought for the most part from foreign lands. The material is worked up here, and those who earn their livelihood by working on it could not live without the wool, the cotton, the timber, that our ships bring from countries far away. Compared with our modern trade the trade of Charles II was insignificant. The growth of that trade has made the growth of population possible.

We trade with foreign countries in order to obtain the things that we cannot produce, or cannot produce so easily. We need cotton from America, Egypt, India, wool from Australia, wine from France and Spain, corn and meat from America, North and South, tea from India, Ceylon, and China, coffee from Brazil and Java, tobacco from Turkey, Virginia, and Cuba, sugar, currants, oranges, bananas, and a thousand other things. In order that we may be able to buy these things we send abroad cotton and woollen cloth, hardware, machinery—chiefly manufactured things, but also coal and iron. Hundreds of thousands of men and women are continually at work making things that we do not need for ourselves; they work in order that this people may be able to buy and bring home the things that it requires.

Since Stonehenge was built there has always been some foreign trade in this country. Our earliest important export was the wool of English flocks; we have now more sheep at home than we

had then, but we import wool instead of exporting it. Our imports in the Middle Ages were luxuries; wine from Gascony, silks and velvets, jewels, gold, silver, spices; now we import also the necessities of life. In the time of Drake our bold seamen opened to us the oceans and seas of the whole world. But the trade grew slowly. We had to fight for it with the Spaniards, the Dutch, and afterwards with the French; on the Spanish Main, in North America, and in India. Moreover, you cannot buy from foreign countries unless you have things to sell which they desire. For a long time we had no abundance of good and useful things to sell. As our industries improved our foreign trade grew with them.

ROADS

If men are to work to the best advantage they must be able to travel and to move their goods easily and quickly from place to place. In the time of Charles II the roads were still—to us—incredibly bad. If a rich man wished to get down into the country his quickest way was to ride. If he wanted to take his family he would use a coach and six, which might transport them at the rate of two miles an hour. In winter the coach would be bogged now and again, and at any time of year it might be upset by the enormous ruts. Light goods could be carried on the backs of horses, but heavy goods could only travel to any distance by water, and therefore you will find that all the oldest prosperous towns are on some river, or near the sea. The first thing needed was to improve the

roads. In the eighteenth century a slow improvement of the roads began.

Toll-bars were set up on the Great North Road soon after the Restoration. Those who used the road paid fees as they passed each bar. The money paid in tolls was spent upon the road. Stage coaches began about the same time—that is, coaches served by relays of horses provided at stages of six or eight miles—and it was thought a great thing that men could travel from London to Oxford in a single day. The toll-bar or turn-pike system was gradually extended. A turnpike road was another name for a good road, or what the men of that time thought to be a good road. The men who came to the Parliament in Westminster were interested in the roads they had to travel; they were also interested in trade, for increase in trade meant increase in revenue, and Parliament was always in need of money for many purposes. In the reign of George II men could journey from London to Exeter in three days by the "Flying Stages." Laws were made to improve the roads, but improvement came slowly. The roads were not good until Macadam (1815) had invented his plan of making roads with small pieces of broken granite. "No stone," he said, "should be larger than the road-mender could put in his mouth." Posts were set up along the main roads where travellers could hire horses ridden by postboys to draw their own carriages. But highwaymen made the roads dangerous, and even the mails were often stopped and the passengers plundered.

HIGHWAYMEN

When we think of highwaymen we think of stories of Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin, and others who robbed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But because the highwaymen of those centuries are more famous we must not suppose that in earlier times their number was less. No doubt in the Middle Ages they were more numerous, if not more enterprising. Shakespeare, following legend, makes Prince Hal set out with Falstaff to take a purse on Gadshill near Rochester. In Queen Elizabeth's time a Judge was believed to have been a highwayman in his youth. Robin Hood is still remembered—we do not know when he lived, but he might have lived at any time under the Norman or Plantagenet Kings. Henry I hanged forty-four thieves on one day at Hundeshoge; under Edgar, as under Henry I, the roads are said to have been safe; but Edward I had to make laws against highwaymen; and from Edgar to the execution of the last highwayman is about eight hundred and fifty years.

The highwaymen of the eighteenth century became well known because newspapers were coming into use, and "broadsheets" could be printed and sold by thousands, giving accounts of their exploits and their boastful confessions. Their adventures, their hairbreadth escapes, their audacity, their roistering ways, their extravagance, sometimes their generosity, appealed to the imagination of the people. Some of them were of good birth; many affected elegant manners; but for the most part

they were murderous and drunken ruffians, who lived for a few years in coarse dissipation, and ended their days on a road-side gibbet, or on the three legged gallows at Tyburn (near our present Marble Arch), before the eyes of an obscene crowd. They were in league with inn-keepers, ostlers, barmaids, chamber-maids, post-boys, receivers of stolen goods, all over England. The death-penalty did not deter them; prisons were not secure; they might break out; the law gave many opportunities of escape, if some mistake were made, or a witness were bribed not to appear. The King might be persuaded to grant a pardon; men and women of high birth did not disdain to beg for a highwayman's life. Maclaine, who lived like a gentleman in St. James' Street, was visited in prison by thousands of gentlemen and ladies.

There is no doubt that the highwaymen had some sort of popularity. The stories of their exploits were eagerly recounted—how Cromwell was attacked, how Monk and Marlborough were robbed—how Claude Duval, in the reign of Charles II, released a fair lady from payment of three hundred pounds because she consented to dance with him a minuet beside the road—how Nevison—under the same King—rode in one day from London to York, visited the Lord Mayor of that city, and called him as a witness at his trial to prove that he could not have been near London that same morning—how Dick Turpin lived for months, perhaps for years, in his cave of Epping Forest. Horace Walpole, who was wounded and robbed by Maclaine in Hyde

Park, had some pity for the rascal when he lay in Newgate waiting for his death. Maclaine was a coward; but many of these fellows were courageous; courage and adventure always touch the heart; our life to-day is more safe, but we pay for safety by a certain dulness. Sir Robert Peel's police, the railway, and the electric telegraph, have stopped the career of modern highwaymen, even when aided by motor-cars and automatic Browning pistols. Hounslow Heath, Wimbledon Common, Finchley Common, where highwaymen, mounted and masked, cried "Stand and deliver," where even in the nineteenth century footpads murdered and robbed, are now safe by day and night; and robbery with violence to-day is rare.

WATERWAYS

For heavy goods water-carriage was the best until railways were built. Rivers were gradually improved by locks and weirs, which kept a fixed depth of water in the channels. (48.) France, and of course Holland, were far ahead of England in improving rivers and making canals. The Duke of Bridgewater, and his engineer, James Brindley, set to work to build canals about 1760; and in twelve years they had made 365 miles of water-way. Others followed their example. The canals were useful, especially for the carriage of such goods as coal and iron and building materials, and for the pottery trade of Staffordshire, since the earthenware was less likely to be broken when conveyed by water. The class of men who did the hard work

for these canals were called navigators; we now call the same class of workmen "navvies." By the end of the eighteenth century there were many hundreds of miles of canal.

COAL AND IRON

We have now in England a thousand, perhaps many thousands of industries. But the greatest of these are connected with iron, with weaving, and with agriculture. And all of them depend upon coal. Even the farmer must use tools and machinery which are made of iron smelted and forged with the aid of coal. Coal was already worked in the time of the Romans; it was got in small quantities all through the Middle Ages; in the time of Charles II it was already greatly used for warming London houses, and in certain manufactures. It came to London by sea and was called sea-coal, to distinguish it from charcoal. But in the eighteenth century we were only just beginning to learn some of the thousand uses to which coal could be put.

The most important of all these uses is for the smelting, tempering, and forging of iron. In this country iron and coal are often found in the same district. Yet right up to the middle of the eighteenth century wood alone—in the form of charcoal—was employed for smelting iron from the ore and working it afterwards. Sussex had been the most important region for iron-workers; but the forests there, and in the other counties where iron was worked, were becoming exhausted; we were driven to import

iron; and early in the eighteenth century men were casting about for means to smelt iron by coal or coke. But iron smelted with coal or coke contracted impurities from the fuel; it became brittle and hard to work; and it was nearly a hundred years before these difficulties were overcome—by patient experiment, after many failures.

When smelting by coal had been improved the tempering and forging of iron still required charcoal; the difficulties in using coal for these processes were even greater; but about 1780 the iron industry no longer depended upon wood or the charcoal made from it. In the next century you will see that the great iron industries arose in the districts where iron and coal were found close together. No iron is now worked in Sussex; but, if the Kentish coal-fields now opened are successful, iron may be worked there once more. In the Forest of Dean iron works continued because coal could be got there, as timber in earlier times. In this as in almost all other industries the great changes were prepared in the eighteenth century; but their full effect was not felt until the nineteenth century was well on its way.

SPINNING AND WEAVING.

In the earliest times the village raised and sheared its own sheep; the women spun the wool, and the village weaver wove it. Then came a time when we grew more wool than we needed, and exported great quantities, importing in turn such fine cloths as we could not make ourselves. In the fourteenth

century the weaving industry established itself in certain districts, especially in Norfolk; the yarn was still spun by women working at home (63); it was bought by the weavers, woven by them, and the cloth was sold to the merchants. Gradually, very gradually, factories were established, where many men worked together under supervision for the wages of a master. The finer processes of weaving and dyeing were introduced by foreigners; first by Flemings, who came hither in smaller or greater numbers all through the Middle Ages; then there was a larger immigration from the Low Countries, during the religious wars, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The last great immigration was of French Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. Some of these Frenchmen were skilled in the weaving of silk; a party of them established themselves in London at Spitalfields, where their industry has been carried on until the present day, and even now continues.

63. Spinning Wheel.

The growing of flax and the production of linen were introduced into Ireland by Lord Strafford;

the linen industry still flourishes in the district of Belfast. Scotland also took up the trade, aided by Huguenot refugees, and in the eighteenth century much of the linen which we had previously bought from the Continent came to us from Scotland and Ireland.

All these industries were carried on, partly as before, in the homes of the workers, but the weaving more and more in factories, large for the time, but small compared with those of our own day. Then in the eighteenth century machines were invented; first of all machines for spinning, discovered by Hargreaves and Arkwright, which enabled one pair of hands to turn out more yarn than many could spin in the same time with the old spinning wheels. So yarn became more abundant than the weavers could deal with, until another inventor produced the power-loom, a machine for weaving cloth.

All these engines were first worked by water power; and the first establishment of spinning and weaving machinery was in the moorland valleys—especially of Lancashire and Derbyshire—where water power was at hand. But shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century Watt invented the steam engine; and before the end of the eighteenth century it was being used both for spinning and weaving. The steam engines required coal, and thus spinning and weaving, as well as the iron industry, found their natural home in regions where coal was at hand; the woollen industry in the West Riding, the cotton in Lancashire,

where the moist climate made it easier to work the fibre.

COTTON

These machines could be used for spinning and weaving wool, linen, or silk, as was soon perceived. But they were invented for cotton. Cotton cloth, muslins, and calico, were first brought from the East, where the cotton plant must have grown wild, though no doubt it has been improved by selecting the seed from the best plants. Nankeen is still named from the Chinese town whence it was imported. About the end of the seventeenth century the printing of calico with coloured patterns was introduced into England. The other tradesmen resented this competition, and it was for a time forbidden. The raw cotton was imported—first from Cyprus and Smyrna, then from the West Indies; it was spun and woven in this country from about 1640. Its first use was for fustians and velveteens. The machines invented later enabled us to weave cotton fabrics cheaper than the old-fashioned hand-weavers of the East; and since the machines came in our exports of cotton cloths have made it easy for us to buy from the Eastern countries those products which they have in abundance and which we desire.

EASTERN TRADE

Besides the gold, jewels, silk, sugar, and spices, which had always come from the East in greater or less quantities, we now had acquired a taste for tea, coffee, and chocolate. All these pleasant things

to drink reached us about the same time—in the days of the Commonwealth. Tea came from China, coffee from Arabia, and chocolate from the West Indies and South America. The porcelain of China was also highly valued in the eighteenth century. Our chief difficulty in trading with the East was to find things which the folk of India and China desired to buy. Some wise men deplored the Eastern trade because they thought that in course of time it would carry off our gold and silver and leave us poorer. But we got back a part of our expenditure by selling our Eastern goods to the other countries of Europe, and, after we had established our machinery for manufacture, we were never at a loss for merchandise to ship Eastwards. As in other things so in this Eastern trade, the beginnings were achieved in the eighteenth century; the full harvest was not reaped until the nineteenth.

SMUGGLING AND WRECKING

Trade with the Continent was much impeded by our own high duties on imports. Tea, coffee, and tobacco, paid great duties; but they came in nevertheless, because they could not be produced at home. French wines and brandies were discouraged by taxation after 1703, and Portuguese wines were admitted on easier terms; the English then got their taste for port. The French laces, linens, and cambrics, were also heavily taxed. The taxes were so high that it became very profitable to smuggle any of these goods; all along the coast smuggling was carried on—sometimes by armed gangs, who

often beat off the attacks of the custom house officers. Almost everyone sympathised with the smugglers, and few would resist the temptation to buy smuggled goods cheap. Smuggling was not put down until the taxes on imports had been reduced, so that it was no longer worth while to run the risks.

In the wild country on the sea coast, as in Cornwall and the Scilly Islands, ships were deliberately enticed to their doom by false lights, in order that the ships might be plundered by the wreckers. But the Trinity House in London was beginning to put up lighthouses and fix lightships to guide the course of ships; and by degrees navigation became more safe. One of the earliest light-towers was built of granite on an island of the Scillies in 1680 (p. 308); the light was given by burning coals in a great basket of iron. Now the Scilly Islanders are renowned for their skill and courage in saving life.

COLONIES

The establishment of colonies in America gave us a secure market for our manufactured goods in return for the raw produce, tobacco, sugar, timber, cotton, furs, which they sent. The Colonists were bound by law to trade only with Great Britain—with few exceptions. The loss of trade resulting from the loss of the American colonies was made up by the increase of trade with the East; and, as you shall see in the next volume, our wars with Napoleon gave us a practical monopoly of trade upon the oceans.

COINAGE

As I have explained in the third chapter of this volume (p. 48 above), if the people is to be rich it must be industrious; if industry is to secure its due reward money must be good and its value certain. As I also told you there, Elizabeth called in a great deal of bad money and issued good money. But her purging was not complete, and since her time the coinage had again got into disorder. If bad money is allowed to pass, men eager for profit will melt down the good money, hoard it or export it; the bad money which they receive they will pass on to their neighbours in payment of their debts, since the law permits it. Good money had been coined from time to time under the Stewarts, but coins of the Plantagenets, debased coins of Henry VIII and Edward VI, foreign coins, clipped and sweated coins, were still current. False coins were common. Private persons had been given licenses to coin farthings.

In the time of William III the evils had become so great that a complete recoinage was necessary. The State bore the expense of calling in all money, good or bad, and issuing new coins of all denominations. The greatest man of science then living, Sir Isaac Newton, was put in charge of the Royal Mint. In about four years the recoinage was carried out. In silver there were at this time crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats (fourpenny pieces), half-groats, and pennies. Soon afterwards halfpence and farthings of bronze were issued from the Mint. The chief gold coin was the

guinea, a piece coined of gold from Africa, first issued at the value of twenty shillings, current afterwards at various rates, and fixed in 1717 at twenty-one shillings.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

The Bank of England, founded in 1694, had many difficulties to face. It had the right to issue bank-notes; and during the recoinage it found great difficulty in paying coin for its notes when demanded. Again and again it was required to lend great sums to the Government, which in return supported it against its enemies, who were many. The South Sea Company was formed to lend money to the Government, in return for the privilege of trading with South America under the treaty of Utrecht. In 1720 men imagined that this Company would make the fortunes of all concerned. The hundred pound shares were bought and sold for no less than a thousand pounds. The speculation, which had no sound basis, soon collapsed. Walpole was called in to clear up the wreckage. Those who were most guilty in the fraud were punished with heavy fines, but after all had been collected that could be exacted, the shares that had been sold for a thousand pounds were redeemed for £33 6s. 8d. Many were ruined; but the Bank of England survived this disaster, and continued to grow in importance and usefulness until the present day.

THE NATIONAL DEBT

At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1713) the National Debt was £52,000,000, paying

interest at the average rate of nearly seven per cent. Many plans were tried for reducing it; but in spite of all it remained at about the same figure in 1738, though the interest was reduced little by little; and in 1750 it was fixed at three per cent. By this time the moneyed men were used to a National Debt; the interest was paid regularly, and men could sell or buy shares in the Debt at the price of the moment. The Seven Years' War and the American War were largely paid for by increasing the Debt. The nation was growing richer; it could find at home and abroad many willing to lend, and it was able to bear the burden of interest. By this means great sums were raised which could never have been obtained by taxation. Before the wars arising from the French Revolution the Debt was over two hundred millions; we could not have carried on our great struggle with Napoleon unless our Government had won the reputation of paying regularly the interest on its Debt. Though the interest was fixed at three per cent., when the Government was in need it could issue its stock at the rate of a hundred pounds stock for £70, £60, or even £50, and thus attract buyers in times of difficulty and danger.

AGRICULTURE

Industry, trade, banking, public loans, these are means by which the people made itself rich at home and powerful abroad, so that it was able to support its ever increasing numbers. But all these things depended upon agriculture, which provided food

for workmen, merchants, bankers, soldiers, and sailors. In those days we still lived upon the produce of our own land, and even exported a surplus in time of plenty. Therefore, in spite of industry and invention, our population could not have increased had not means been found to get more food from the same land.

The enclosures of the sixteenth century, though they caused great suffering, had been useful so far as they went, but great parts of the country still lay waste in the eighteenth century. Of the cultivated land three-fifths were still worked on the old system of the open fields. (p. 60.) In the open fields no progress could be made; every man had to follow the same methods as his neighbours, and those were little better than the ways of peasants in the time of Henry III. Where a man owned a small enclosure he had a better chance; but the best opportunities were those of the great land-owners.

Fortunately, some of the great land-owners were men of sense, energy, and intelligence, like Lord Townshend of Rainham, in Norfolk. When he retired from politics (1730) he turned his mind to the improvement of his estate. He encouraged enclosure. He learnt that, by growing various crops in suitable succession, a period of fallow was unnecessary. He went back to the old practice of spreading marl on light soils to enrich them. Above all he grew turnips and improved their culture, so that he was able to feed more stock, to keep it alive during the winter, and the stock gave him more manure to fertilise his land.

He died in 1738; but the success of his experiments led others to use their wits. Bakewell, of Leicestershire, began to improve the breeds of sheep and cattle by careful selection. Between 1710 and 1795 the average weight of steers sold for killing at Smithfield had risen from 370 lbs to 800 lbs.; of sheep from 28 lbs to 80 lbs.

These improvements were first seen in Norfolk, Leicestershire. and Lincolnshire. But at the end of the eighteenth century great parts of the country were still waste; of the cultivated land a great part was still worked by the ancient methods. No further progress could be made without enclosure; enclosure of waste land and common land, and the enclosure of the old open fields. From the middle of the eighteenth century till the middle of the nineteenth enclosure of both kinds went on more and more rapidly. Much suffering resulted, much injustice was done, but without these enclosures we could not have fed our increasing population, our cities could not have grown as they grew, we never could have lived through our wars with Napoleon. But my account of the agricultural revolution must wait until the next volume. I only show you here that we owe to the landlords and farmers of the eighteenth century those improvements which have made the growth of our population possible, which still produce a large part of our wealth, and make our modern England the rich and fruitful garden that it is.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER

Unfortunately, all through these times of increas-

ing wealth and knowledge the condition of the farm labourer was not improving. While others were advancing he was left behind. The enclosures, which were good for the country as a whole, did nothing for him; indeed, they robbed him of the common on which he might feed his geese and perhaps a donkey. While the wages of skilled labourers in towns were rising, his did not rise, though a man who can plough, and sow, and mow, and reap, and thrash, drain the land, and bind a hedge, who understands cattle, and sheep, and horses, cannot justly be called unskilled. When prices were low, as in the first half of the eighteenth century, his condition was not intolerable. But when prices rose he had to go to the parish for relief. As the Poor Law provided for the needs of the labourer's family the farmers and landlords were not encouraged to pay better wages. But the rest of this story must also be reserved for the next volume.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In 1789 the Great Revolution began in France, which swept away the King, the land-owners, and the old system of government in that country. Its ideas spread to England and were at first received by many with favour. But the violence and disorder which soon followed in France made our people afraid; the new French ideas were seen to lead to massacre and robbery, for which our people was not inclined. Moreover, the new French Republic challenged us to war, and before long we

were fighting for our national independence against Napoleon. These wars were of a new kind—wars for a new system against an old one; they bring to an end the uniform story that runs on from the Restoration till the middle of the reign of George III. The great changes of the nineteenth century were for the most part prepared in the eighteenth century; in part they came about through the French Revolution and its wars; but they are so great that they deserve a volume to themselves.

CONCLUSION

From the Restoration till the French Revolution is all one story, in industry and trade as in other things. The great landlords, who governed the country, were not backward in improving the land, in breeding better stock, in encouraging trade, in mending roads, or digging canals. In spite of disease and ignorance our population began to increase, slowly at first, afterwards more rapidly.

Meanwhile, there were many active minds at work who invented devices for using coal, working iron, and harnessing the power of steam. The age was dull in a sense; its ends were commercial; it looked for more gain, for safety, for bread and butter. Politics were rather mean and very corrupt. But all the time there was improvement; advance in knowledge, in wisdom, and in almost all the arts of life.

CHAPTER X

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

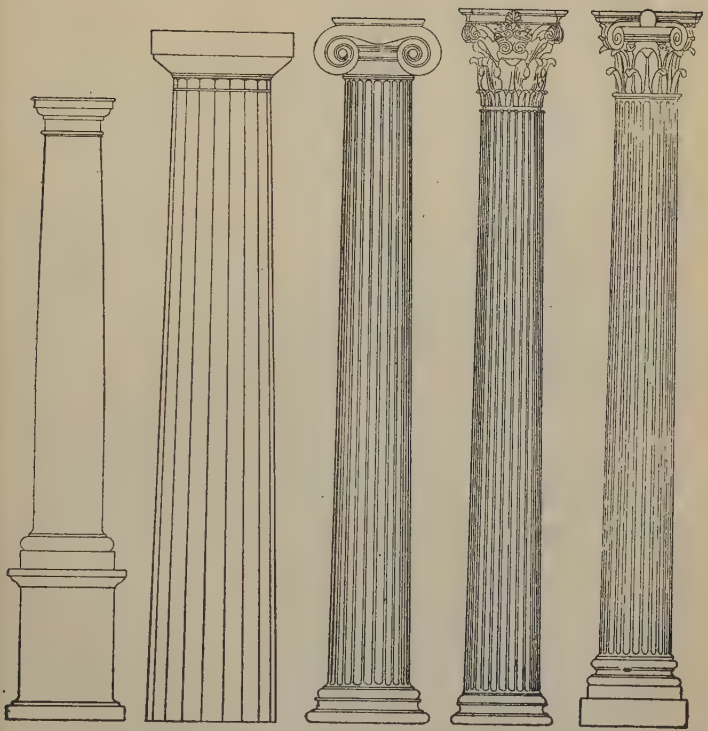
1640-1789

"ART" is now taught in many of our schools. Every town of any importance has a picture gallery and a museum. There are thousands of young men and women who call themselves artists. Enormous prices are paid for pictures, old furniture, Chinese porcelain, old silver, and many other beautiful things. There are more books written about "art" than in any period of the people's history. And yet it would seem that the English people as a whole cares nothing about beauty, for if it cared about beauty the things that it now makes for its own use, its towns, its public buildings, even the factories in which it works, would be beautiful; and they are not.

What is "art"? The word can have a wider or a narrower meaning. Any kind of personal skill may be called an art; thus, we talk of the art of medicine, which is the practical application of the science of medicine by means of the personal skill of the doctor, using his knowledge, his experience, his practice, and his wits, to discover what is wrong

with the patient and restore him to health. Then there is the art of war, which is the practical application of every available science to crush the resistance of the enemy's forces. But when people talk about "art" they generally mean those forms of personal skill which produce beautiful things, the skilled work of man in the service of beauty. In certain countries and in certain times all the arts have combined to produce harmonious and beautiful surroundings. Buildings, furniture, painting, sculpture, plate, dress, were all at such times directed to a common result. In this sense we can speak of the art of Florence, or of Athens, or of the Middle Ages. In a cathedral, stone, wrought and carved, glass, woodwork, painting, vestments, music, incense and candles, were all brought together to make a beautiful whole. We have no such universal art to-day; we have many arts, and many artists; but they do not work together; and you never find a town or a public building—hardly even a private house—in which every detail works together to a single end of beauty as in Athens, or Florence, or some of the medieval towns. We have lost the instinct, the common impulse, to work together in the service of beauty.

We lost this impulse very gradually. Perhaps, if we desire it, we may recover it. No one can say why beautiful things were made at one time and not at another; the only thing that is certain is that our surroundings will not be beautiful unless the people, or at least some powerful part of the people, desires to have beauty around it.



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*) (*e*)

64. Columns of the Five Orders.

(*a*) Tuscan. (*b*) Doric. (*c*) Ionic. (*d*) Corinthian. (*e*) Composite.

ARCHITECTURE

We began to lose our instinctive skill for producing beautiful things first in architecture. As I told you, on p. 124 of my first volume, a medieval building was not the work of one man, but of many, toiling together for a single end of beauty, to which each contributed what he had learnt from his apprenticeship and invented for himself. In the sixteenth century this instinctive co-operation continued; but it was broken to some extent by the employment of Flemish, Dutch, Italian, and German workmen, who brought in new devices which may have been beautiful in themselves but did not fit in with the rest.

ARCHITECT AND ARTISAN

Then came the age of the architect. Men were no longer satisfied with the old tradition. They were possessed with admiration for everything that was Roman or Greek; they desired classical buildings in the grand and massive style which the Italians had adopted in imitation of the Romans. No English builder or company of builders could design and execute such a building; so an architect was needed to plan the whole and direct the workmen.

These architects had themselves no freedom of fancy; they were tied by the models, by rules which they found in a Roman writer, called Vitruvius. They learnt from him that there were five kinds of columns: the Tuscan, the Doric, the Ionic, the Corinthian, the Composite. '64.) Each

of these belonged to a different kind of ancient building, but the new fashion often combined two or more of these in the same edifice. The first named was and appeared to be the strongest, the others, in the order given, were and appeared to be each lighter than the one before it; therefore when two or more of these kinds of style were used the

65. Inigo Jones' plan for Whitehall.

heaviest should be put at the bottom and the lightest at the top. On the other hand, they had the advantage of studying in Italy the buildings of the great Italian architect Palladio. But his buildings, with their great masses of shadow, are better suited to the brilliant sunlight of Italy than to the softer light of England. However, the architects learnt from him how to make size tell, how to put a building together, and how to combine the parts in harmonious proportion.

The first and perhaps the greatest of these

architects was Inigo Jones (65, 66), who worked in the reigns of James I and Charles I. His magnificent design for a royal palace at Whitehall—1200 feet long by 900 feet wide—was never executed, though a part of it, the Banqueting Hall, was built, and

66. Greenwich Hospital.

Inigo Jones

may still be seen in Parliament Street. From his day onward the classical school of building ruled in England. This style gave in houses large, airy rooms with big windows; in churches it gave great lecture halls with galleries, better suited to Protestant preachers than the old dim churches made for the celebration of the Mass to the sound of mysterious music. Old churches were poetry;

67 Panelled Room with furniture (early seventeenth century).

the new churches were majestic and dignified prose. For a time the skilled craftsmen, who had inherited the tradition of Tudor and medieval days, maintained their excellence in detail, though they had to work to pattern and not as their fancy prompted.

68. Iron-work Screen from St, John's, Frome.

(67.) But in time, as they now were working under direction, they lost their spontaneous creative power and became mechanical. Grinling Gibbons was a wood carver of extraordinary skill and worked for Wren; but his carvings of fruit, and flowers, and cherubs are mere ornament; they are not part of the structure. The iron-workers, however, long retained in their gates and grills a free use of skill and fancy (68); till their art was killed

by the mechanical process of casting such objects in moulds.

After the Restoration another man of genius, Wren, came to the front (69, 70, 71). The Fire of London, in 1666, gave him an opportunity such as

69. The Eastern Quadrangle, Hampton Court Palace.
Wren.

no other English architect ever had. The City was destroyed, from the Tower to the Temple, and from the river to St. Bartholomew the Great. St. Paul's Cathedral and eighty-nine other churches were burnt. If Wren's plan for rebuilding the city had been carried out we might have had the finest capital of Europe. But the difficulty of re-allotting

the plots of land proved to be too great, and the City was rebuilt at haphazard. Wren was, however, commissioned to rebuild St. Paul's and fifty-four other churches. His churches, embedded in the crowded structure of the City, soar above it with their graceful spires, built up storey by storey with classical columns and cornices. St. Paul's Cathedral and the hospital at Greenwich reach the highest point attained by classical architecture in England. The Portland stone of which these buildings are constructed weathers, where the wind and the rain sweep it, to a whiteness of coral, or curd, or pearl; where it is sheltered the soot hangs upon the walls, giving masses of velvety black shadow. This contrast can hardly have been intended; it is, however, very effective.

70. St. Bride's, Fleet Street. *(Wren.)*

71. Bow Church, Cheapside. *(Wren.)*

All through the eighteenth

century this grandiose Italian style prevailed (72); and in recent years it has been again in fashion.

72. Elevation of Blenheim Palace.
(Vanbrugh.)

Gibbs (73, 74, 75), who built the Radcliffe Library at Oxford and the Senate House at Cambridge, was the greatest follower of Wren and Inigo Jones. Chambers, who built Somerset House in 1775, was the last of the great masters. The success of this style depends entirely upon the genius of the architect; the handicraftsmen have little chance to redeem it by the beauty of their detail; in the hands of a second-rate man it becomes vulgar and pretentious. Towards the end of the eighteenth century men who had houses to build seem to have tired of dull magnificence, and mansions were erected that were just boxes of brick or

73. St. Mary le Strand.
(Gibbs.)

74. The Radcliffe Library, Oxford. (*Gibbs.*)

stone, with the requisite number of windows and doors.

GARDENS

The English had always been fond of gardens; with the new love of Italian building came in the art of building gardens in terraces. From the Dutch we got the taste for yew hedges, fancifully cut into the form of peacocks and other quaint objects. About the beginning of the eighteenth century long avenues of trees were planted, by which we now benefit, as in Bushey Park. The men who planted these avenues looked far ahead; they could not hope to see the full glory of their work.

75. The Senate House, Cambridge. (*Gibbs.*)

76. Lady Bellasys.
(Sir Peter Lely.)

77. Richard II and his Saints.

PAINTING

Though there were painters in medieval England who adorned our churches (77), and miniaturists who adorned precious books, all this died out with the fall of the old religion England was the last country of Western Europe to produce a school of modern, secular painters. Our portraits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were painted chiefly by foreigners: Holbein, a German, worked for Henry VIII, Vandyck, a Dutchman, for Charles I, Lely (76), also from Holland, for Cromwell and Charles II; Kneller (78),

78. Godert de Ginkel. (*Kneller.*)

79. Samuel Pepys. (*John Havles.*)

80. "Marriage à la Mode." The Toilet Scene.
(From the painting by Hogarth.)

of Lübeck, painted almost every person of importance from 1675 to about 1715. But none of these popular painters founded any noteworthy English school, though some had one or two English pupils. (79.)

True English painting begins with Hogarth, who portrayed and caricatured with admirable skill and vigour the coarse and vulgar life which he saw around him. He used his pictures to tell a story, several forming a series, as in the *Rake's Progress*, and *Marriage à la Mode.* (80.) He began life as an apprentice to a silversmith, went on to copper plate engraving (1726), and then taught himself to paint — portraits, and stories to point a moral, which were afterwards engraved and sold by thousands. He hated the foreign painters who up to his time had all the favour of English patrons. He did not found a school of pupils, but the form of art which he discovered for himself is thoroughly suited to the English character, and he has influenced many even up to the present day.

81. Dr. Johnson. (*Reynolds.*)

After him arose a school of English portrait painters, of whom Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, and afterwards Romney, were the greatest.

82. Mary, Duchess of Rutland.
(From a Mezzotint by Valentine Green after Sir Joshua Reynolds.)

These painters owed something to Vandyck; but their delicate grace, dignity, and a certain softness of pose and outline, is all their own. Reynolds (81, 82) experimented with new pigments, which may have given to his work great brilliance when it was

83. Landscape.

(*Gainsborough.*)

new, but they have often faded or collected dirt in process of time. Gainsborough (83, 84) excelled also in landscape painting, wherein he owed much to the Dutch masters, though he has his own soft grace and fancy. The English love the country and pictures of landscape have always been popular

84. Mrs. Siddons.
(*From the painting by Gainsborough.*)

since Gainsborough's time. Romney had not the skill of Reynolds or Gainsborough to put a rounded figure on the canvas, but his figures have a romantic grace in pose and disposition of drapery. Hogarth shows the prim propriety of the middle class, the coarseness of the lower class and of those rich people who lived disorderly lives. The other three show us the elegant and delicate beauty which was the ideal of the eighteenth century.

But painting with them was an end in itself. Their pictures blended no doubt with the houses in which they were hung; but they were not part of any house; they could be moved hither and thither, bought and sold. Painting was no longer, as in the Middle Ages, one of several arts combining to make a beautiful whole; it followed its own lonely path and pursued its own ends. (85.)

85. Raeburn (by himself).

The foundation of the Royal Academy, in 1768, with Reynolds as its first President, marked the separation of artists from handicraftsmen which did not exist in the Middle Ages, nor even in the time of the Renaissance. It did not bring the painters, sculptors, and architects, who were its members, into active cooperation.

MINIATURES

The art of portraiture in miniature came to perfection earlier than full-sized painting. Probably the tradition of the artists who illuminated books had never died out, and portraits which could be carried on the person or enshrined in a locket were always likely to be desired—until photography was invented. All through the sixteenth century and seventeenth century the art of miniature lived on. Oliver in the sixteenth century, Cooper in the seventeenth, in the eighteenth century Smart and Cosway, were perhaps the greatest masters. (31, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.)

ENGRAVING

Though till the time of Hogarth English portraits were chiefly painted by foreigners, Englishmen were busy from the time of Henry VII with the humbler arts that give many copies from one plate or block. Wood engraving (26, 27) was used, soon after the introduction of printing, for the illustration of books. In the reign of Elizabeth men desired to learn what the navigators had discovered, and engraving on copper was used for the reproduction of maps. For engraving on copper a cutting tool, a graver, is used, by means of which furrows, generally very fine, are cut in the smooth plate. These lines take the ink, which marks the paper when an impression is taken. The picture is built up by the combination of an immense number of these delicate lines. This process was soon used for portraits of great personages, for which there

80. Anne of Cleves.
(*Holbein.*)
Salting Collection.

87. Henry, Prince of Wales.
(*J. Oliver.*)
Salting Collection.

88. Richard Cromwell.
(*S. Cooper.*)

89. Portrait of a Lady.
(*J. Smart.*)

90. Lady Anne Fane.
(*Cosway.*)

Miniatures.

was a ready sale. (Frontispiece and 33.) There were a few great line engravers in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth century; Woollett, in the eighteenth century, used this process for landscape with great success. But, on the whole, mezzotint was more popular in England; line engraving in France.

To make a mezzotint engraving the copper plate is made uniformly rough all over with a tool called a rocker. The engraver then proceeds to work out his picture by scraping the roughened plate. Where the roughness is left untouched the inked plate gives a black shadow; where it is partly removed the impression is more faint; to get a white surface in any part of the print, after the roughness has been cleared off, the plate is burnished at that spot. This process was much less laborious than line engraving. It was introduced into England by Prince Rupert, who was himself a skilful engraver in mezzotint. It was used by many in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially for the reproduction of portraits; and a great number of very beautiful plates were made. (82.)

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the new process of stippling was introduced. The plate was marked with little dots to take the ink. This could be done with little labour, and the plate so treated could be used for printing in colour. The colour-prints were very popular (91), and were produced in great quantities. Some of them are very beautiful, but many were hastily turned out by inferior artists and have little merit.

91. Two Bunches a Penny.

From a Stipple Engraving by Luigi Schiavonetti after Francis Wheatley
(*"The Cries of London."*)

There must have been many lovers of beautiful things to encourage all the skilful engravers who made a livelihood in the eighteenth century; but the artists did not have to compete with photographs

92. Chest of carved oak (dated 1637).

and all the kinds of mechanical reproduction which flood our markets nowadays.

FURNITURE

The furniture of the eighteenth century fits in with its higher life—elegant, fanciful, and delicate

93. Gate-leg Table (Seventeenth Century).

94. Late Stewart Period.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries furniture was chiefly wrought in oak, sometimes imported from abroad, often very richly carved, sometimes plain and clumsy. (92, 93, 94.) About the time of the Restoration walnut wood came into fashion for furniture; the chairs were high-backed, stiff, and dignified; the legs and bars were enriched with incut spirals. The surface of the wood was often inlaid with woods of other colours. (95, 96, 97, 98.) Then the Spanish mahogany from Central America and the Atlantic Islands came into vogue; rich in colour, close in grain, taking a high polish, it came into the hands of the great English furniture makers, Chippendale,

95. Early Eighteenth Century

95. Panelled Room with furniture (early eighteenth century).

Sheraton, and Hepplewhite. The wood was first imported from Hayti as a speculation, and found for a time no market. However, wood was scarce, and an enterprising maker saw that this Spanish timber was suitable for the elaborate carving fashionable in the richest furniture. The French had been treating wood with plaster, and gilding the surface. Chippendale (99, 100, 102) relied on the natural beauty of the wood; he decorated it with Chinese ornaments when Chinese ornament was in fashion; then he adopted what he called Gothic lines; at yet another time he let his fancy flow in carving. The brothers Adam, who were architects, builders, decorators, and furnishers, worked on classical models. Their carved mantelpieces, elegant walls and ceilings, were in tune with their furniture, which may still sometimes be found in the houses where it was placed. Sheraton was the latest of the great furniture makers (103); he inlaid his borders with brass

97. Early Eighteenth Century.

98. Lacquered Cabinet. Probably made about 1690.

99. Chippendale Chairs.

Gothic. Riband Back. Chinese.

100. Latticed Table (Chippendale).

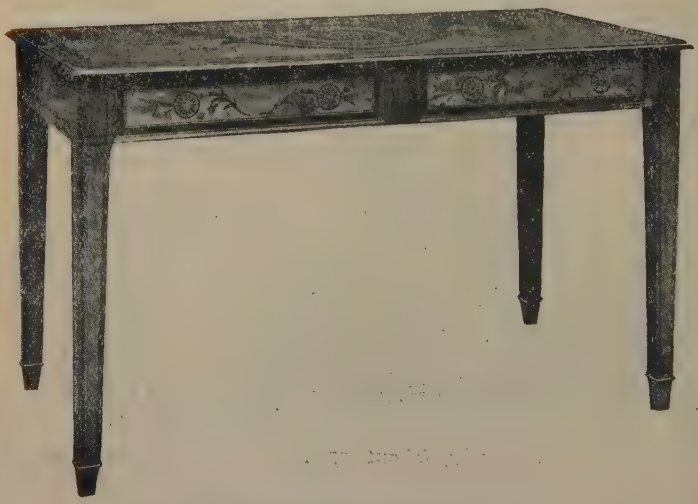
satinwood, kingwood, and tulipwood. After him the art declined. Sheraton's last catalogue (1801) shows a falling off; the public afterwards lost its taste and the workmen their skill; instead of the elegant, tapering legs, cut by hand from the hard wood, legs turned in the lathe were used; and, as usual, mechanical appliances destroyed the art.

101. Silver Cup (about 1570).

SILVER

The finest English work in silver, and in silver-gilt, is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but this is rare and was

102. Chippendale Bookcase.



103. Sheraton Side-table of Satinwood.

only used by the richest people. (101, pp. 15, 34, 105, 303.) Such ordinary silver plate as was in use before the Civil War was in great part melted down for the needs of the King. Throughout the eighteenth century silver utensils were made in great quantities; the taste of the silversmiths was excellent, and their successors often, perhaps too often, copy the designs of the old makers. (104.) About the

104. Silver Candlesticks (about 1760).

middle of the eighteenth century a craftsman of Sheffield invented the art of plating silver on to copper. The two metals agree very well together, being capable of similar treatment. Men of moderate means could buy in Sheffield plate larger and more elaborate pieces than they could afford in silver. Sheffield plate is much desired for its elegance of design and beauty of workmanship.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN

Early English ware is earthenware, glazed and roughly decorated. The great centre was about Burslem, where coal was abundant and suitable clay was found. But the Chinese porcelain, which was imported in great quantities in the eighteenth century, and even manufactured for the European market (105) and decorated with the coats of arms of English families, set the English potters seeking for a method of imitating it. By compounding bones and other substances they succeeded at Worcester (106), Derby (107), Bow, and Chelsea (108), in making a ware which resembled porcelain, though it was softer in its texture. This they decorated with coloured designs, imitated, though not too closely imitated, from the Chinese, from the French ware of Sèvres, and from the German ware of Meissen near Dresden. The Worcester of the best period—1760-80—is of great beauty in colour, and richness of gilding and design. Later, the true china clay, *Kaolin*, broken-down granite, was discovered in Cornwall; but the pottery industry was so firmly established in Staffordshire that it was found easier to take the clay to Burslem than to move the skilled worker to the neighbourhood of the clay.

Josiah Wedgwood (109), who founded Etruria in Staffordshire, tried experiments of his own. He made a very hard, glassy paste, which took several plain colours, and he enriched the surface with designs of classical character executed in a white, glassy substance by the sculptor, Flaxman.

105. Moses in the bullrushes. Chinese porcelain after a Dutch print.

106. Teacup and Saucer. Worcester ware, eggshell porcelain, painted in the Chinese style.

107. Bust in Derby China. Porcelain Biscuit, plain white.

108. Chelsea Statuette, painted in colours with gilding.

At Battersea the art of manufacturing snuff-boxes and toilet articles from copper covered with enamel and painted in colours was also carried on at the same time. Fine gentlemen then took snuff, and great skill was expended on the adornment of snuff-boxes.

109. Wedgwood Vase.

All these arts contributed to the richness and variety of eighteenth century life. They all belong together; they all, except the ware of Wedgwood which has a character of its own, agree in their delicate prettiness, colouring both soft and rich, elegance of design and shape.

MUSIC

Of all the arts, that for which the English have shown least aptitude is music. Yet at the end of the seventeenth century there seemed to be a chance that an

110. Inside of the Pantheon in Oxford Road, London, 1780.

English school of music would arise. Purcell, the greatest of our composers, was then at work; but no successors worthy of his genius continued in his tradition. However, of one thing we may be proud—that we gave a home and a public to Handel. Handel was a Saxon and came to England in 1712. Here for a long time he tried to make the English people love Italian opera. In that he failed, and then he turned to oratorio, which gave to the Protestant peoples religious music in place of the Mass. In that he succeeded, and to this day the oratorios of Handel are beloved by the English people. The richness and majesty of Handel's music, his reverberating melody, have a bold and manly quality; and this people, on the whole so poor in musical achievement, may be proud that it welcomed and honoured and still honours Handel.

CLOTHING

With the houses, the paintings, the furniture, the silver, and the porcelain, the dress of the period agrees. The heavy wigs of the seventeenth century gave way gradually to a smaller wig of grey hair, or the natural hair powdered. The dress of the men was more becoming than at any time of our history; the coat with full skirts, the waistcoat reaching almost to the thighs, the close breeches to the knee, silk stockings, and low shoes, were suited to the elegant town life; while for country wear similar lines were followed in plain strong cloth, for town wear and society men wore the richest materials and colours to their taste. For women

III. The Spruce Sportsman: or Beauty the Best Shot.
From an Anonymous Mezzotint, 1780.

hoops held their own for a long time; though in the latter part of the century soft, flowing draperies came into fashion. On the other hand, in the latter half of the eighteenth century women were wearing huge head-dresses built up of horse-hair; some of them so elaborate that their wearers did not take them down for weeks. (110, 111.)

LITERATURE

Nothing is more tedious or more unprofitable than the history of literature to those who have not read the books with which the history deals. And yet the history of the eighteenth century is half untold if its great writers go unmentioned. I will be brief, and hope that some day you will read the books to which I allude. Some of them you might read now, but you had better take advice before reading at random.

After the Restoration, when the Puritans were sunk in general dislike and contempt, the two great works of Puritan letters were produced. *Paradise Lost* is the work of a Puritan poet, John Milton, who was learned in all the knowledge of his day. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the work of a poor man, learned only in the Bible, who was persecuted both under the Commonwealth and under Charles II for unlicensed preaching. These two works, taken together, express the highest thought of that generation which built up for itself a new religion by the study of the Bible.

But the age which followed the Restoration is not the age of Milton; it is the age of Dryden. As

in the days of King James I Ben Jonson sat at the *Mermaid* tavern and laid down the law to the younger generation of men of letters, so John Dryden ruled at Wills' Coffee-house in Bow Street, from about 1670 till his death in 1700. The wits and men of letters came there to hear him talk, and break a lance with him. He excelled in every literary form; in prose, in criticism, in tragedy, in comedy, in satire, in epic, lyrical, and political verse. He set the fashion in verse for the whole eighteenth century. In his hands verse became a vigorous, exuberant, and highly polished form of prose; the ten-syllable rhyming couplet, called the heroic couplet, as used by Pope and his other followers, became more polished, more pointed, less exuberant, but it was Dryden who brought that measure into poetical predominance.

About the time when William III came to the throne a new form of comedy became fashionable—a comedy of manners, of the manners of a rakish set. The plays of Congreve, Wycherley, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar, are cynical, immoral, and redeemed only by their sparkling and unfailing wit. There must have been a section of society that lived such a life as is indicated in these plays, there must have been an audience to listen and applaud, but it is not necessary to suppose that any large part of society was given up to vice.

In the time of James I enterprising stationers began to issue weekly news-letters, which conveyed the gossip of the town to country readers. During the Civil War newspapers made their appearance,

and the Government began to issue authorised periodicals. In the reign of Queen Anne the first daily paper came out; from such beginnings our flood of newspapers has developed. From 1712 onwards the enterprise of journalists was somewhat checked by the stamp required for every copy of a paper; as in the nineteenth century it was hampered by the tax on paper.

In the reign of Queen Anne Steele and Addison were issuing each day or every other day little papers, not of news but of criticism of the world in which they lived. The standard of propriety in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* is not quite the same as ours; but those kindly, humorous, thoughtful, observant essays do credit to the society which welcomed them. Addison's prose, which is a model of its kind, was written to suit an audience that knew good prose from bad and preferred the good.

Defoe, simple, homely, direct, business-like, matter-of-fact, appealed to another class that loved the thrill of adventure, and wished its imagined adventures to be close by reality. Swift, bitter and sour, out of tune with the world around him, even in *Gulliver's Travels* is more concerned to expose the folly and meanness of mankind than to tell the excellent stories that he had invented.

As Dryden ruled in the seventeenth century so Johnson ruled in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. From Boswell's *Life of Johnson* a better idea can be gathered of the life and talk of a cultivated society than perhaps from any other book.

Johnson's life is better worth reading than any of his books. Among Johnson's friends were not only men of letters, but Garrick, the great actor, and Reynolds, the great painter. Johnson was a conservative in letters as in all other things; in verse he carried on the tradition of Pope; in prose he followed the tradition of Addison; he latinised our language more than any before him; his style has been a bad model for inferior writers, but in him, as in Gibbon, the great historian, the long words are justified by noble and harmonious rhythm.

In the eighteenth century the English novel was invented. Samuel Richardson was a printer who wrote letters for those who were unable to write letters for themselves. He thus conceived the idea of telling a story by means of an imaginary correspondence. His novels are, to our taste, of intolerable length, but they were eagerly read by the sentimental public of that time. Goldsmith, in his *Vicar of Wakefield*, gave us an exquisite picture of homely life. Fielding was the greatest master of them all; but both in him and in Smollett the coarseness of the time is clearly seen.

About the same time Sheridan was writing his plays, as witty as those of the time of William III, but free from vice. Goldsmith's play, *She Stoops to Conquer*, is another masterpiece.

In the literature of the eighteenth century we see the whole picture of the age. From one we can get a glimpse of the serious learning of the time, from another of its exquisite taste and playful humour, from another of its underlying coarseness

and ferocity. All must be taken into account together if we wish to know what manner of men our ancestors were. Then, as now, it took all sorts to make a people.

SCIENCE

Modern science is built up by three processes, systematic observation, careful experiment, and exact reasoning. Of exact reasoning mathematics are the purest example. Francis Bacon, in his writings, showed the importance of experiment as a means of extending our knowledge, but it was not until later that Englishmen began to interest themselves in experimental science. The Royal Society "for the promotion of physico-mathematical experimental learning," grew out of a private club, which was meeting during the Civil War and Commonwealth. Charles II gave it a charter in 1662, and himself became a Fellow. Mathematical learning had been progressing. Logarithms were invented by Napier, a Scotchman, at the end of the sixteenth century. Progress had been made in algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, beyond the learning of the Greeks. Copernicus, in 1543, had told the world that the planets, including our world, revolved about the sun. Galileo, in 1609, invented a telescope which revealed secrets of the heavenly bodies. Kepler, about the same time, worked out some of the laws which rule the motions of the planets. Isaac Newton, using improved mathematics, formulated the laws of gravitation by which all known bodies are governed. He also extended our knowledge

of other physical and mathematical laws and processes. But, great as was the genius of Newton, his discoveries could not have been made but for the toil of students too numerous to name who worked before him. Some of these were British, but more were Italian, German, French, or Dutch. In learning the nations all work together; we learn from our enemies as well as from our friends.

Astronomy is the oldest of the sciences; in the progress of modern learning it was the first to give results that touched the popular mind; by assisting navigation it was the first to serve mankind. But at the same time steady progress was being made in other sciences. A thermometer was invented by Galileo. The barometer was invented by a friend of Galileo, and the meaning of its readings was understood to some extent by the Frenchmen, Descartes and Pascal. That the variations of the barometer had some relation to the weather was soon observed, but it was long before any full explanation was worked out. Even now we are not able to predict the weather with exactitude.

The desire to cure disease and heal wounds turned men to the study of the human body. Harvey, in 1628, gave the true account of the manner in which the blood circulated from and to the heart; though the microscope was needed to explain the passage of the blood from the arteries to the veins. About 1660 the tiny vessels by which the blood passes from the arteries to the veins were seen by the help of the microscope. Men then began to study the purpose and nature of breathing; but this could

not be fully explained until Priestley had discovered oxygen, in 1774, and the bearings of his discovery had been worked out by others.

The phenomena of electricity were eagerly studied, and a step forward was made when Benjamin Franklin (1752) with a kite drew down the electricity from the air, and established the connection between electricity and lightning. Ray (1627-1705) did good work in classifying plants and animals. Woodward collected fossils which he believed to be relics of the age before the deluge. Hutton laid the foundations of modern geology. But in all these sciences, as in so many other branches of human knowledge, the eighteenth century worked the soil, the nineteenth century gathered the harvest.

CONCLUSION

The co-operation of all arts in the construction, decorating, and furnishing of buildings was lost when the architect became a dictator, and a separation began between the artists and the craftsmen. Yet the art of the eighteenth century is the product of a delicate and instinctive taste, to which almost all artists conformed. Literature, more various in its scope, conformed on the whole to a similar standard, though much of it reflects the coarseness of the multitude. In science great discoveries were made, the full bearing of which was not seen till the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XI

THE SUM OF THREE CENTURIES

When the fifteenth century was coming to an end four new things were working to change the life of the people. First, the learning, the poetry, the history, of the Greeks had been revealed to Western Europe; the wisdom of the Romans had become more fully known. Secondly, the use of paper and the invention of printing had made it possible to multiply copies of any book. Thirdly, the improvement of fire-arms was changing the art of war; body armour was to become a useless encumbrance, stone castles were to melt at the shock of cannon; men became equal before the new engines of death. Lastly, the Atlantic had been crossed; the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded; the whole world lay open to discovery, settlement, and trade; the oceans, instead of dividing nations, became a ready pathway for their intercourse.

THE NEW LEARNING

All through the sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth centuries, these new forces continued to work. The new learning was a great thing in itself; all the efforts of medieval man had not recovered the wisdom attained by the Greeks and Romans;

now almost all that wisdom was at the service of scholars. But the actual knowledge was not so important as the ideas contained in the old books. Those ideas—new to the time—were many; the political ideas were perhaps the most important. From the history of Greece and Rome men learnt of peoples that governed themselves without kings, by votes and election, that made and obeyed their own laws. Such states are called republics, and their governments are called republican. The study of these ancient states and their great achievements set men thinking in a new way about their own politics. The English, in particular, were accustomed to votes and elections; they perceived that what Athens and Rome had done they also might do; and in the conflict between the people and Charles I the example of the old republics was not forgotten.

For a few years England took the name of a Commonwealth, that is a republic; and, although the Commonwealth was a failure, those who resisted kings and desired more freedom for the people had always brilliant instances to quote from Greek and Roman history. When the French Revolution led to the French Republic, the examples of Greece and Rome were in the mouth of every orator. The new political and historical learning worked slowly, but it never ceased to work throughout these three centuries; and it did much to change men's ideas about government and law.

By the new learning man's interest in man was vastly increased and widened. His interest in the

natural life around him was also awakened. Aristotle knew many things about plants, and animals, and minerals, and the forces of nature, which were hidden in the Middle Ages. The elder Pliny collected much curious knowledge and died through his eagerness to observe the great eruption of Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. When this old knowledge—new to the men of the sixteenth century—had been mastered, men had a firm foundation of solid fact on which to build. Slowly, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they learnt and reflected; they looked, they weighed, they measured, they calculated, they reasoned; till by degrees the foundations of modern science were completed.

RELIGION

The new learning could not fail to affect religion. The Bible was in the hands of the multitude; the sources of religion were revealed; every man could go to the fountain head; moreover, there was new curiosity, a new spirit of enquiry; and the new freedom of thought brought about the Reformation quite as much as any scandals and abuses of the Church of Rome. But the old unaltering faith once lost, the change could not be stopped. New sects, new thoughts of church government, new ideas of conduct, came in; and from the time of Queen Elizabeth men never again all thought alike about religion. Compulsion, punishment, persecution, could not stop the change; and in the eighteenth century men came to believe that it was best to

tolerate the freedom of belief which they could not suppress.

PRINTING

The new learning that men drew from Greece and Rome, or discovered for themselves, was more and more widely spread by printed books. Schools were few, and at the time of the French Revolution the majority of our King's subjects could neither read nor write. But it is easy to read if a man is determined to learn; books were no longer hard to procure; and, whereas in the Middle Ages learning was only for the clergy and a few of the more enlightened laymen, before the end of the eighteenth century reading and writing were common in all but the lowest class. Men could make a livelihood by writing books; and famous men of letters, like Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, were highly honoured. Moreover, by books and newspapers, the people was beginning to know more about itself. The villages and towns of the Middle Ages lived apart, with little knowledge of the world outside; news was spread by pedlars and wandering mountebanks or collected at the great fairs; but in these centuries, with broad-sheets, with news-letters, and afterwards with newspapers, the men of every district came to have more exact knowledge of the people and its doings in all parts of the world.

FIRE-ARMS

Gunpowder took warlike power from some and gave it to others The knight with his heavy

armour was no longer master on the battlefield. The long bow had shaken his predominance; the gradual improvement of cannon and hand guns destroyed it. Henceforward, the victory fell to the army that was largest, best trained, best armed, best supplied, best equipped, and most mobile. On the Continent this led to the establishment of great standing armies. Louis XIV was the master of his people and the terror of his neighbours because he commanded the obedience of a great army. Fortunately for this people its military needs never demanded a great army. Parliament was jealous of great standing armies; and the country as an island did not need to sacrifice its freedom to the requirements of war; after the great Armada no serious attempt was made to enslave this nation until the eighteenth century was ended.

Cannon greatly increased the power of armed ships. A ship armed with sixty or seventy cannon could sink a whole fleet with primitive arms. Thus ships became travelling fortresses, and sea power took a new form. Navies were no longer merely useful to convey armies; on coasts and islands they could themselves effect conquests where there was no artillery to meet them. The natives of America and even the more civilised nations of the East could not stand against the broadside of an armed ship of war. By land hand fire-arms and field-guns made the European stronger in war than the natives of every other continent or country. In the eighteenth century the nations of Europe, and especially the English, became predominant in

America and India. As yet Africa was chiefly valued as a hunting-ground for slaves.

DISCOVERY.

The discoveries that began with Columbus continued through the three centuries. The English moved last. Slowly they became aware of their vast opportunities. Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Cavendish, showed the way; the people was seized with a desire for distant adventure. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, were before them in the race; with resolute endurance the English wore them down. When the French became our rivals, we fought them in America, in India, in Europe, on the seas; and even the loss of our American colonies did not stop our progress. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the interior of Africa was visited. Bruce explored the Blue Nile, and Mungo Park the Niger and the Gambia. About the same time Captain Cook was exploring in the South Seas; he discovered New Zealand and many other islands, and charted the eastern coast of Australia and part of New Guinea.

The people moved onward from adventure to adventure; they carried their rulers with them by their enterprise. Wherever there was water the English penetrated. They found North America wild, uncultivated, in the possession of fierce men who lived by hunting. They settled, they failed; they settled again, they succeeded; they reduced the wild to cultivation, they hunted for furs, they traded, they prospered, they multiplied. They

found India teeming with countless millions; they came as traders, they built settlements, then forts; they organised armies, they made alliances, they did what the moment demanded to maintain their enterprise, until, in 1765, they found themselves called upon to govern the large and populous provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. That also they undertook; they accepted what the adventure brought. What other nations might achieve by policy the English attained by following up one adventure after another — resourceful, inflexible, undismayed. This volume is called *The People in Adventure*, for in these three centuries by a ceaseless succession of adventurous enterprises the people of England worked out its destiny. The people that had with difficulty held its own in the North Sea and the Baltic came to fear no rival on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans.

Meanwhile, at home we were binding our rulers by laws; we were improving our knowledge, our inventions, our manufactures, our agriculture, our roads, our manners. In the Middle Ages the French were our teachers; in the Tudor Age we learnt from the Dutch and the Italians as well as from the French. Later, our chief debt was still to the French, but we became more self-reliant. We learnt from every nation, but we copied none. We were English and proud of being English.

NEW CHANGES IN VIEW

Already at the end of the eighteenth century new forces were beginning to work. The enclosure of

wastes, and commons, and open fields, began to change not only the appearance of the country but the position of great classes. The invention of machinery began to alter the whole life of those who lived by manufacture. Great towns were growing up at haphazard where quiet villages had been. Country that had been green and fruitful was blackened with the smoke and the dust of coal. Roads were being improved; canals were being built. Population was rapidly increasing. Men were beginning to think that the owners of land should not have all the political power; it seemed ridiculous that a trifling village should send members to Parliament while large towns sent none at all. The old customs were no longer sufficient to guide the life of the people in the new ways. As soon as the old customs were called in question the door was opened to every kind of change. Thus, we were on the brink of what we call the industrial, the agricultural, the political revolutions. The full effect of these was not felt until the nineteenth century, and the account of them belongs to my third volume.

These changes were in part delayed, in part they were hastened by the French Revolution. Political change was checked by horror of the French example. The French began their revolution with the generous desire of setting their world to rights by the peaceful exercise of reason. They destroyed the authority that had been; they released the oppressed; but they were not able to control the forces and the passions that they had set free. In the

midst of this disorder the French were attacked; without government, without system, without its natural leaders, the French people had to fight for its life. Such leaders as there were could only rule by terror; but, in spite of all, the French were victorious in self-defence. From self-defence they turned to conquest; they had a new gospel to preach —the rights of man—and they spread it by the sword, as Charlemagne had spread the gospel of Christ. Under the leadership of that great soldier and ruler, Napoleon Bonaparte, they came near to the conquest of all western Europe. To complete their success the conquest of England was needed; and for twenty-two years England was never out of danger.

Thus all political change was not only dangerous in the face of the enemy, it was distasteful to those who knew of drownings and beheadings, plunderings and burning, the fruit of the new gospel of the rights of man. But other changes were hastened. When a people is fighting for its life it is forced to use every effort, to open its eyes, to bestir its wits, to shake off its sloth. England had perhaps become rather lazy at the end of the eighteenth century, as she had at the beginning of the twentieth century. The people of England at war with all of western Europe under Napoleon had to have bread; therefore, it was obliged to improve its agriculture; it had to find money to pay for its wars and to help its allies; therefore, it was forced to develop its industries and its trade; it was forced to hold the seas and oceans for its own protection; by its

power over the sea new sources of wealth were open to it; it was forced to snatch at every means to increase its strength and its wealth. Thus, in spite of every loss and sacrifice, at the end of the great wars England was richer, more powerful, more vigorous, better equipped, than she had been at the beginning.

In this volume I have shown you how great new forces worked themselves out during three centuries; in my next volume I shall show you how other new forces worked to change the condition, the manner of life, the construction, the grouping of the people. These forces were—in the mind of the people—invention, the desire of ever more knowledge, new ideas, new aspirations, new discontents; they showed themselves in new industry, in wider and ever increasing trade, in new agriculture, in great towns, new grouping of men, new systems of self-government, new political institutions, new means of transport and of sending messages, a new people, a new country, a new empire. All the old traditions, all the new thoughts and inventions, all the work of thirty generations, were then brought once more to the greatest test and trial of all—the great War with Germany, which began in 1914.

The people of England belongs to you and me; its glories, its inheritance, its duties, are ours. But we also belong to the people; without it we are nothing—poor, weak, helpless, defenceless, disinherited. We also—while I write—are on our trial in war; and when peace comes we shall still be on our trial. Our fathers made this people;

they made it rich and powerful, they endeavoured to make it just, and wise, and generous. All their labour, all their sufferings, all their sacrifices, are in vain, if we do not prove worthy of the charge that they have laid upon us.

Standing Cup, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1616.

FULHAM

A FEW DATES TO GUIDE THE READER

1485-1509	Reign of Henry VII.
1492	Columbus discovers the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hayti.
1497	Vasco da Gama rounds the Cape of Good Hope.
1509-47	Reign of Henry VIII.
1510	Lily, a scholar in Greek, Head Master St. Paul's School.
1511-3	Erasmus teaches Greek at Cambridge.
1517	Martin Luther attacks Indulgences.
1520	Magellan passes the Straits that bear his name.
1535	Henry VIII declares himself to be Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England.
1536-9	The Monasteries and Friaries dissolved by Henry VIII.
1536	Calvin publishes his Institutions of the Christian Religion. The Pilgrimage of Grace in Yorkshire. Wales united with England in law and administration.
1539	The Great Bible published in England.
1543	Copernicus teaches a new astronomy.
1545-63	Council at Trent in Tirol to settle the true doctrine of the Catholic Church.
1547-53	Reign of Edward VI.
1552	Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.
1553-8	Reign of Mary.
1558-1603	Reign of Elizabeth.
1559	John Knox returns to Scotland from Geneva.
1562-95	Frequent religious wars in France.
1563	The Statute of Apprentices passed. The Thirty-nine Articles settled; receive royal assent. 1571.
1568	The Dutch rebel against their Spanish rulers.
1577-80	Drake's voyage in the *Golden Hind*.
1586	Tobacco and potatoes introduced to England.
1587	Mary Queen of Scots executed.
1588	The Spanish Armada defeated.
1591-1611	Shakespeare writes his plays.
1598	Henry IV of France publishes his Edict of Nantes giving toleration to Protestants.
1601	Poor Law of Elizabeth.
1603-25	Reign of James I. The Crown of England passes to the Scotch House of Stewart.
1607	James settles English and Scotch colonists in Ulster.
1608	The King fixes new rates for Customs

A FEW DATES TO GUIDE THE READER

1609	Galileo constructs a telescope. Kepler studies planetary motion.
1611	The Authorised Version of the Bible published.
1615	Inigo Jones becomes Architect to the King.
1618-48	Thirty Years War in Germany.
1619	Harvey announces the circulation of the blood.
1620	Drebbel constructs an improved thermometer.
1624	Law against Monopolies.
1625-49	Reign of Charles I.
1628	Charles I accepts the Petition of Right.
1629-40	The King governs without a Parliament.
1633-9	Lord Strafford in Ireland.
1634-5	Writs of Ship-money.
1639	War with the Scotch (the Bishops' War). East India Company founds Madras.
1640	The Long Parliament begins. Strafford and Laud impeached.
1641	Peter Lely, portrait painter, comes to England.
1642	The Civil War of King and Parliament begins.
1643	Porricelli invents a barometer.
1644	Battle of Marston Moor.
1645	New Model Army set up. Battle of Naseby.
1646	Charles surrenders to the Scotch.
1647	The Scotch hand over Charles to the English Parliament.
1648	Colonel Pride expels the Presbyterians from Parliament. The Scotch make war on England but are defeated.
1649	Charles I executed. A Commonwealth set up in England. Cromwell in Ireland.
1650	Cromwell in Scotland: victorious at Dunbar.
1651	Navigation Act. Battle of Worcester.
1652-4	War with the Dutch.
1653	Cromwell expels the Rump Parliament and becomes Lord Protector
1655-8	England at war with Spain.
1658	Death of Cromwell.
1660	Restoration of Charles II who reigns till 1685.
1661	Death of Mazarin. Louis XIV of France begins his personal rule.
1661-5	Act of Uniformity and other Acts against the Nonconformists.
1662	Charter of the Royal Society.
1664-7	War with the Dutch.
1665	The Great Plague of London.
1666	Fire of London.
1667	The Dutch in the Thames and the Medway. Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
1672	Declaration of Indulgence (withdrawn 1673).
1672-4	War with the Dutch.
1673	The Test Act passed.
1676	Wren begins the Cathedral of St. Paul.

A FEW DATES TO GUIDE THE READER

1678	Titus Oates denounces a Popish Plot. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*
1679-80	Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the Succession.
1679	Habeas Corpus Act passed.
1680	Godfrey Kneller becomes Court portrait painter,
1685-88	Reign of James II.
1685	The Edict of Nantes revoked in France (see 1598). Insurrection of Monmouth.
1687	James II issues his Declaration of Indulgence. Newton publishes his *Principia.*
1688	Revolution. William of Orange lands.
1689	Willam of Orange King (till 1702). Mutiny Act. Toleration Act. Bill of Rights. War with France.
1690	Presbyterian Church established in Scotland.
1692	National Debt with regular interest begins.
1694	Bank of England established.
1696	New Coinage begun.
1697	Peace with France.
1701	Act of Settlement.
1702-14	Reign of Anne.
1702-13	War of the Spanish Succession.
1707	Union of England and Scotland under one Parliament.
1711	Steele and Addison edit the *Spectator.* Handel comes to London.
1713	Treaty of Utrecht.
1714-27	Reign of George I.
1715-6	Rising in Scotland on behalf of the old Pretender, James Stewart.
1715	Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad.*
1719	Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe.*
1720	The South Sea Bubble.
1721-42	Robert Walpole Prime Minister.
1726	Swift publishes *Gulliver's Travels.*
1727-60	Reign of George II.
1739	John Wesley begins to preach.
1739-48	War with Spain (Jenkins' ear).
1744-8	Open War with France.
1745	Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode.*
1745-6	Rising on behalf of Charles Edward Stewart (the Young Pretender).
1755	Johnson's *Dictionary* completed.
1756 63	Seven Years' War.
1757-61	Supremacy of William Pitt the Elder (afterwards Lord Chatham).
1757-60	Clive Governor of Bengal.
1759	Wolfe's victory at Quebec: Conquest of Canada. Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater begin to build canals.
1760-1820	Reign of George III.
1763	Peace of Paris between England, France, Spain, and Portugal.

A FEW DATES TO GUIDE THE READER

1765	Stamp Act for the American Colonies. Watt constructs a steam-engine.
1765-7	Clive Governor of Bengal for the second time.
1766	Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield.*
1767	Act for import duties in America.
1768	Royal Academy founded. Reynolds President.
1768-79	Voyages of Captain Cook.
1768-74	Journeys of James Bruce in Africa.
1771	Hargreaves patents the spinning-jenny.
1772-85	Warren Hastings Governor in India.
1773	The people of Boston (Massachusetts) revolt aginst the duty on tea. Act for the Regulation of India.
1774	Priestley discovers oxygen.
1775	War begins in America.
1776	American Declaration of Independence.
1778	War with France.
1779	War with Spain.
1780	Lord George Gordon "No Popery" riots.
1782	Independence of United States recognised.
1783	Peace of Versailles between England and France.
1784	William Pitt the Younger becomes Prime Minister. Government of India brought under the British Government through a Board of Control.
1789	The Bastille stormed in Paris. The French Revolution begins. Washington first President of the United States.
1793	France declares war on England.

The Lighthouse, St. Agnes', Isles of Scilly.

INDEX OF TOPICS

The table of contents will enable the reader to find the great majority of topics. This Index is only intended (1) to bring together topics mentioned at least twice (2) to give a reference to those chief topics that might be hard to find.

Agriculture, 56—63; 243—5
American war of independence, 216—8
Apprentices, Statute of, 52—4
Architecture, 68—77; 250—8
Army and politics, 171—2; Standing army, 182; 185
Articles, the thirty-nine, 29—30
Astronomy, 290—1

Banking, 166—9; 241
Bible, 19; 96—7; 115—24
Bill of Rights, 185
Bishops, 28; 124—5

Cabinet system, 192—4
Canada, 211—2; 214; 218
Canals, 166; 232—3
Cavalry, 155—8
Ceremonies, 20; 33; 127—30
Church, 8; 16—8; 28—30; 198—200
Coinage, 48—52; 240—1
Colonies, 170; 216—8; 239
Constitution, 187—91
Coal and iron, 233—4
Corruption, 191—2
Costume, 89—90; 122—3; 136—7; 284—6
Cotton, 237
Country gentlemen. 9—10; 191
Court, the King's, 179—81
Customs-duties, 111; 238

Discovery, Chapter III; 298—9
Disease, 224—5
Doctrine, 117—8
Drama, 98—102
Dutch, 70; 165—9

Education, 11; 95—6; 296
Enclosures, 57—63; 243—5
English language, 93—4; 96—7; 104—5
Engraving, 267—71

Famine, 225—6
Feudal dues, 112
French Revolution, 245—6; 300—2
French wars, 209—220
Fire arms, 153—4; 156—8; 296—8
Foreign policy, 205—220
Freedom of belief, 21—3; 126—7; 181—2; 200; 295—6
Furniture, 271—7

Gardens, 258
Geography and exploration, 36—43 298—9
Gordon riots, 204—5
Guilds, 52—3

Habeas Corpus Act, 182
Hawking, 84—6
High Commision, Court of, 107; 135
Highwaymen, 230—2
History, its value, 1—2; continuity and periods, 173—8; 302—3
Horses, 86—7

Hounds, 80—2

Impeachment, 182: 188—9
Impressment, 152; 162
Independents, 126—7
India, 212—6; 299
Indulgence, Declaration of, 181; 184
Indulgences, 18—9
Infantry, 153—5
Invention, 55—6; 233—7
Ireland, 145—50

Jews, 169—70
Judges, 114—5; 141—2; 186—7; 196—7
Juries, 186—7
Justices of the peace, 10; 53; 134

Kings, 4—6; 12—5; 106—11; 143—5; 178—194; and foreign policy, 205—10

Learning, the new, 97—8; 293—6
Lighthouses, 239
Literature and the people, 92—4; 103—5; 286—90
Locks and weirs, 166; 232

Mass, 19—20; 25; 129
Miniatures, 267
Monasteries, dissolution of, 63—8
Money, see Coinage, Silver
Monopolies, 111—2
Music, 282—4
Mutiny Act, 185

National Debt, 241—2
Navigation Act (1651), 165
Navy, 42; 44—6; 110; 162—5; 297
Nonconformists, 181; 194—5; 198—9; 201
Non-jurors, 195

Painting, 89; 258—66
Parliament, 12; 108; 112—4; 133—6; 142—4; 150—1; 181—194
Party system, 190—1
People, 2—6; 92—3; 103—5; 133—5; after the Civil War, 175—8; and foreign policy, 205—220 302—3
Plague, 224
Popes, 16—7; 32
Popish plot, 195—6
Population, 222—6
Portugal, 208
Pottery and porcelain, 280—2
Prayer book, 25; 132
Prerogative, 108
Presbyterians, 125—6
Printing, 296
Puritans, 33—4; 117—8; 122—30 136—7; 151; 286

Quakers, 202—3

Reformation, 22—6; 96—7; 115—7 131; 198; 295—6
Regiments, 158—62
Religion, 194—205; 295—6
Religious wars, 139—40
Renaissance, 94—8; 293—6
Revolution of 1688, 184—7
Roads, 228—9
Roman Catholics, laws against, 29 203—5

Sabbath observance, 123—4
Sacraments, 19—20; 29
Science, 119; 290—2
Scotland, 130—3; 145; 218—9
Settlement, Act of, 186—7
Shakespeare, 77—87; 91; 93—4; 9 —105
Ship-money, 114; 164
Silver, fall in the value of, 52; 62—
Silver plate, 277—9
Slave trade, 41; 211; 220
Smuggling and wrecking, 238—9
Spain, hatred of, 30—3; war with 211; 217—20
Spinning and weaving, 234—8
Sports, 77—88; 124
Star chamber, 106; 135
State trials, 196—7

Test Acts, 181—2
Thirty Years' War, 112; 139

Tithes, 66
Toleration, 126; 194; 295—6
Torture, 107
Towns, 54; 182—4; 300
Trade, 30; 38—9; 41; 46—8; 111; 219—20; Chapter IX
Trading classes, 11
Trained bands, 152
Uniformity, Act of, 181
Uniforms, 161
Wesley, John, 200—2
Witchcraft, 118—122

WOODS AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, LONDON, N